LIBERIA.

A republic founded by black men, reared by black men, maintained by black men, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects.—HENRY CLAY.

BULLETIN No. 20. FEBRUARY, 1902.

ISSUED BY THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

CONTENTS.

PORTRAIT OF THE HON. THOMAS W. HAYNES, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF LIBERIA.....*Frontispiece*

THE EIGHTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY 1

HON. THOMAS W. HAYNES, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF LIBERIA, J. ORMOND WILSON. 7

NEED OF DIRECT STEAMSHIP SERVICE TO AFRICA, PETER STRICKLAND, *U. S. Consul.* 9

THE FRENCH CANADIANS..... HOWARD ANGUS KENNEDY. 19

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON THE BIBLE.....THEODORE ROOSEVELT. 38

THE RACIAL PROBLEM—THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE A. S. S. A., 1901.....GEORGE R. STETSON. 41

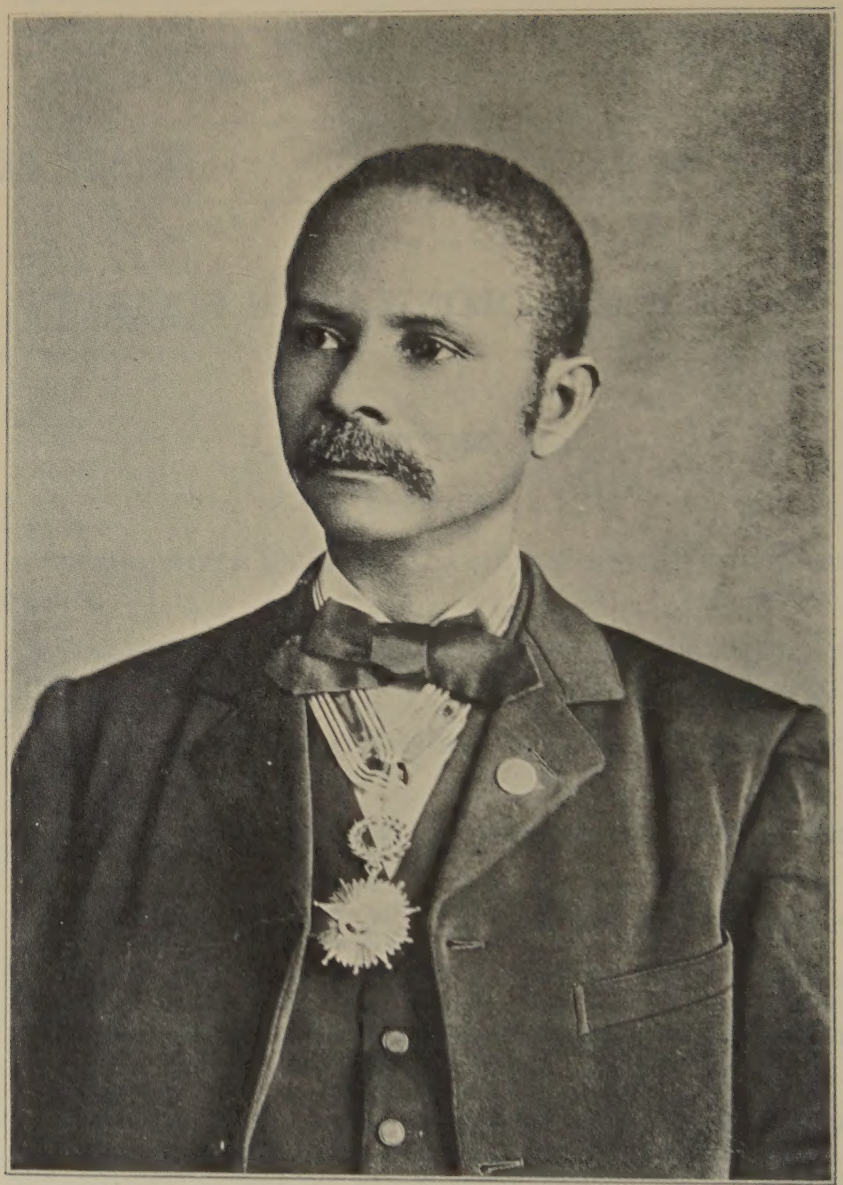
TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN LIBERIA.....“WEST AFRICA.” 58

WHAT KNOWLEDGE IS MOST WORTH TO THE NEGRO AT THE PRESENT TIME.....KELLY MILLER. 64

ITEMS..... 75

WASHINGTON, D. C.

COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.



Thomas W Haynes

LIBERIA.

BULLETIN No. 20. FEBRUARY, 1902.

THE EIGHTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE REV. BYRON SUNDERLAND, D. D.

We approach our annual report with the solemn thought that we have lost our chairman, the Rev. Byron Sunderland, D. D., since last we met. For twenty years he was a member of the Executive Committee of this Society, and from January 28, 1892, its chairman. He entered upon his duties at a time when there were funds to pay for the conflicting necessities so constantly presented to the members and he remained until after people had almost forgotten the very name of the Society. As his death occurred before the issue of our last Bulletin, a due notice of it was taken in its pages, and therefore we find it unnecessary to repeat here what was said concerning him on that occasion. The place as Chairman of the Executive Committee has been filled by the election of the Rev. A. J. Huntington, D. D., a member of the Executive Committee, and by Mr. William B. Gurley to fill the vacancy in the Committee.

BULLETINS.

As usual, two Bulletins, Nos. 18 and 19—No. 18 containing a half-tone picture of the Executive Mansion, Monrovia, Liberia, and No. 19 a half-tone portrait of the Rev. Byron Sunderland, D. D., Chairman of the Executive Committee—have been published.

An edition of 1,500 copies of each Bulletin has been issued to those calling for information, both in this country and in Liberia.

APPLICANTS FOR EMIGRATION.

The applicants for assistance in emigrating to Liberia have become more numerous than formerly, but we regret to say that

they do not present very good reasons. Frequently it is stated that they are not doing well here, and there is no reason to suppose that they would do any better if they were sent to a foreign country.

It is the business of this Society to ascertain what is the reason that they are not doing well here before giving them advice to emigrate.

EMIGRATION.

During the past year this Society has furnished a free passage to an emigrant to Liberia as follows: Benjamin W. Payne, aged 26 years, doctor, from Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee, born in Liberia.

Mr. Payne was sent to the United States by Miss Sharp, a missionary in Monrovia, to be educated, several years ago. When this had been accomplished, she asked this Society to assist him in returning, which it did near the close of the last year. From the reports Mr. Payne received from the professors in Meharry Medical College, this Society was induced to believe that if returned he would make a good citizen of Liberia.

EDUCATION.

The Hall Free School at Harper, Cape Palmas, has been in successful operation during the past year. There has been no change in the efficient local board of trustees nor in the excellent teacher of the school during the year, and the patrons of the school appear to be satisfied with the present arrangement. The interest in the small fund set apart by the Maryland Society and Mr. Hall for the support of this school has decreased considerably since their action, and the amount paid to the teacher is less than it was thus intended to be.

The whole number of pupils enrolled was 142. The average number enrolled was 118, of whom 52 were born of native African or heathen parents.

Graham School, No. 1, at Greenville, Sinoe county; Graham Schools, Nos. 2 and 3, at Royesville, Montserrado county, have been continued in regular operation through the year. This Society assists in the payment of the salaries of the teachers of these schools upon the following condition: The Liberians are to provide acceptable buildings and furniture for these schools,

which are to be subject to the general supervision of our agent in Liberia, and payments are to be made only upon the receipt by this Society of reports of the schools approved by our agent.

We have furnished Mr. Stevens, our agent in Liberia, with $1,419.52 worth of text books since our Annual Meeting last year. These will be furnished to the citizens of Liberia at a price not exceeding their wholesale cost in this country, thereby enabling many parents to send their children to school prepared to learn from proper books without being dependent upon charity.

SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION.

The bill for the creation of a Bureau of Education has met with the approval of the people, and Mr. Julius C. Stevens has filled the office created by it with great satisfaction to all parties.

He has succeeded during the past year in publishing a Hand Book for Teachers, which shows how much interest he feels in the work itself. He makes the statement of his estimate of the power of teaching as follows:

"If after careful perusal and study of this book the teacher has become awake to the importance of his calling and actually does better work in the school-room and vicinity, then our labor will not have been in vain.

"Mistaken ideas lead them to disregard and violate the physical and moral laws, and when these laws in silence execute the penalties, nobody seems to know the cause. They do not know they suffer from their own doing. Here comes in the work of the teacher. He is to take the child in charge and plant in his mind right ideas of things. One who has been taught to think right from childhood will not depart from it when he is old.

"To be honest, truthful, willing to do right in things small and great, knowing that right-doing will pay us best *here and now* and make us more happy and contented, when seeing misery in others, feeling partly responsible for it and anxious to remove it for our own good as well as others—these are some of the ideas that should be in the mind of the teacher.

"There is the school-house and yard, furniture and apparatus, a uniform system of school books, slates, etc. The teacher pictures to himself a neat, plain school-house furnished with

comfortable seats for the scholars, a chair and table for the teacher, plenty of blackboard space, crayons, a goodly number of neat, bright-eyed boys and girls, well behaved, obedient, eager to learn, and therefore prompt in their attendance, and all supplied with suitable books; the patrons of the community well disposed toward the school, having full confidence in the teacher, and ready and willing to respond to his calls for assistance in the work.

"Is the picture too bright? A real live teacher can effect all this.

"In grading a new scholar assign him a lesson which he can easily learn. Never allow a scholar to study a book or that part of a book so far in advance as to be very hard. If you start him too far on, his lesson will always be hard. He will never understand anything clearly. He will become discouraged and leave the school, to become a bad boy and later on a bad citizen.

"Set pupils to copying small words from the blackboard, such as contain the letters of the alphabet. Then let them copy a short reading lesson. See that in the copy the punctuation-marks are as they appear in the lesson. They are thereby learning reading, writing, spelling, and the proper use of language all at once and in the easiest manner.

"In the higher readers a new exercise may be introduced as to the words at the top of the lesson. Let them make short sentences, using the new words properly. It adds new words to their vocabulary and gives them a better use of language.

"Instead of spelling too much with the mouth, let the teacher pronounce the word distinctly and let each pupil write it on his slate.

"When all the words are given out it is time to correct slates, which may be done in many ways. One way is to have a pupil exchange his slate with a neighbor.

"In teaching the First Reader no arithmetic will be needed. The teacher should be the arithmetic and lay out suitable work for the class.

"In the First, Second, and Third Readers, the pupils to be taught the relations of numbers as large as 100 thoroughly, the rule should be drill. It is better for our boys and girls to be able to add correctly and quickly than to have a mere smatter-

ing of the higher branches of study, for they will have to add nearly every day of their life.

"The same principle applies in teaching geography, and the sand-board should be used to prevent it. I have known students who have studied geography thoroughly in the schools and yet failed to recognize an island when they saw one."

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

We have presented our annual donation of $50 to the Gammon Theological Seminary, at South Atlanta, Georgia, for the education of J. C. Roberts, who is in the senior year and preparing to go to Africa at the commencement of 1902.

We present the following letter from the president of that institution as showing what is intended to be done with the fund for the present year:

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
SOUTH ATLANTA, GA., *November 19, 1901.*

J. ORMOND WILSON, Esq.,
The American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 15th instant duly received. We have now three missionaries in Africa who were aided by your fund in the three years previous to this one. The $50 for this year was given to J. C. Roberts, who is now in the senior year and is preparing for Africa. He was born in Edwards, Mississippi, in the year 1864. He was educated at Berwyn Academy and afterwards completed the sophomore year in Fisk University, at Nashville, Tennessee. He was converted in 1880 and was licensed to preach in 1884. He is ready to go to Africa at the call of the Church at any time after May 10, 1902.

We have an excellent young man in the senior year now who has been for several years getting ready for the work in Africa. We do not see how we can keep him until he completes the course, but if you could grant him $50 for the year 1902 it would help him through nicely. I hope you will be able to make the appropriation. I shall be glad to give you any additional information you may desire.

Yours very truly,

L. G. ADKINSON, *President.*

The $50 has been forwarded to President Adkinson for the benefit of the young man mentioned.

CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT.

In our last report we stated that the late Minister Smith at Monrovia, in a letter dated September 6, 1900, noted, as evi-

dencing much interest on the part of Liberians, several important acts which the Legislature had passed and which were to be utilized by the people in furthering the new civilization which is so much desired by them.

We note that one of the acts—that creating a Union Mining Company of Liberia, approved January 14, 1901—has been extended so far that the people regarded it as a direct menace to themselves, and requested the President of the Republic to resign his position for having signed a bill which would benefit only the persons who were named in it and who had sold or intended to sell all its great privileges to a few Englishmen, who would profit by it.

The action taken by the people in this matter was so effective that a new President was installed without violence, for it appears the Hon. G. W. Gibson, Secretary of State, was designated by law to take the place of President in case he for any reason abandoned the office, and he was afterwards elected to the office when the time for a new election arrived. We have noticed the change thus effected with much interest, and have been very glad to see the people in general apparently approve of the change which appeared so necessary.

COLONIZATION.

During the last few years the course of events in Africa has attracted the attention of the civilized world, and the conflict has not been between the native barbarous inhabitants and the civilized races of the rest of the world, but between white races of former equal cultivation, between descendants of the Dutch who had long since made a settlement in the south of Africa and Englishmen who came later. The immediate difficulty sprang up about some valuable mines discovered within the last few years. The contest in South Africa seems not to have involved the Africans specially. It is not yet concluded, but the end is seen in the triumph of the English. How this is to affect African civilization the world has yet to decide.

The United States of America has not yet become involved in any of their political struggles. Her citizens have shared very largely in the results of an attempt to civilize a portion of the country on the northwest of the continent, but the government has refused to take any responsibility in the matter.

The support which this Society at its best gave to the theory of colonization amounted to some $50,000 a year. This amount was expended through prominent citizens of the United States in what was considered good channels for restoring the element of African success.

The results in Liberia are the work of the American Colonization Society. While slavery existed in the United States Liberia seemed to be the only relief offered to it, and prominent citizens contributed largely to its support.

When slavery was abolished, although the contributions soon ceased, yet the work had so far progressed that it seemed possible for it to go on without much of the special aid it had received hitherto.

This Society was the recipient of the endowments which had for a long time been accumulating for the common cause, and, with a due regard to the injunctions of the laws of entail, resolved to administer its office with as much efficiency as possible.

THE HON. THOMAS W. HAYNES, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF LIBERIA.

Mr. Thomas W. Haynes, a pure Negro, was born in the city of Monrovia, Liberia, West Coast of Africa, November 22, 1851. His parents, George W. and Mary Diana Haynes, emigrated from Virginia, United States of America, to Liberia about the year 1848. The subject of this sketch was the second child and first son, and was born and reared under most unfavorable circumstances. His parents were exceedingly poor, and when they resided in the State of Virginia the Negro was denied the advantages of any education beyond that of reading the Bible, which both could do fairly well. The father learned to write a little after he settled in Liberia.

Nothwithstanding the poverty and hardships to which the parents were subjected, they were anxious that their son should be given the best education that Liberia afforded. This idea, however, was not put into execution until late, for young Haynes had been taught only to read a little by his father before he was eleven years of age, when he was sent to the Presbyterian

day school in Monrovia, where he continued making such fair progress in his studies that in 1866 his teacher recommended that he be sent to Liberia College. Remaining for two years in the preparatory department, he passed his examination and in 1868 was admitted in the collegiate department, under Professors Edward W. Blyden, Martin H. Freeman, and H. R. W. Johnson. Under the most trying ordeals to his parents, who alone supported him, he completed his full term of four years and was graduated in December, 1871, receiving the degree of A. B.

In 1872 he was chosen chief clerk of the Department of State. Later on he was appointed Comptroller of the Treasury.

Leaving this office in less than a year, he sought employment wherever he might find it, in order to lighten the burden of his parents in the support and schooling of four other children. He was soon employed by the mercantile firm of McGill & Brother as a factory keeper at a heathen station about 150 miles below Monrovia. This occupation being distasteful, notwithstanding the marked kindness of his employers, he returned home after one year and was employed by Mr. W. F. Nelson as a clerk in his store. Three years after, upon the recommendation of Mr. Nelson, he was invited by A. Woerman, a merchant of Hamburg, to take charge of his mercantile business as agent at Cape Palmas, Liberia, and was thus employed for two years with fair wages.

Having had pious parents who strove to guide him in the way he should go, he professed religion and joined the church in 1879 and became a worker in the Sunday school.

Returning to Monrovia in 1881, he was employed for a time as the private secretary to the late President Gardner. In the same year he was appointed principal of the preparatory department of Liberia College, which position he held for six years.

In 1876 he commenced the study of law without a teacher, and in 1886 he applied for and received admission to the bar of Montserrado county. Two years later he sought and gained admission to the bar of the Supreme Court as a counsellor.

In 1891 the late President J. J. Cheeseman appointed him the Auditor of the Treasury, a position which he filled for nine years.

In 1895 the Board of Trustees of Liberia College, his alma mater, conferred upon him the degree of A. M.

In December, 1899, President W. D. Coleman appointed him county attorney for Montserrado county for the December term of court, which closed his term of office. In January, 1900, the President, having been re-elected and inaugurated, appointed him Attorney General of the Republic of Liberia.

Mr. Haynes has also served the municipality of Monrovia as a member of the city council, treasurer of the corporation, and city magistrate, and he is a member of the Union Mechanic Society of that city.

In March, 1900, His Excellency President Coleman was pleased to confer upon Mr. Haynes the high distinction of Knight Commander of the Liberian Humane Order of African Redemption.

He is a member of the A. M. E. Church, which he represented as a lay delegate from the Liberian Annual Conference to the General Conference held in Columbus, Ohio, United States of America, in May, 1900.

It was on this occasion that for the first time he left the shores of Africa and embraced the opportunity for visiting and observing quite, extensively both in England and the United States.

J. Ormond Wilson.

NEED OF DIRECT STEAMSHIP SERVICE TO AFRICA.

The desire on the part of American manufacturers to extend their trade to foreign countries has caused many of them to scatter letters and circulars broadcast, with a view to advertising their goods, and lack of success does not seem to abate their persistency. That the senders of these circulars do not comprehend trade conditions outside of their own country is shown by the fact that they frequently express disappointment because their communications do not receive prompt attention, although as a rule these are not printed in the language of the countries to which they are sent.

But more serious than the attempted use of the English language for commercial purposes in countries where it is not current is the fact that many American manufacturers have apparently such confidence in the superiority of their goods

over those of foreign make that they think it unnecessary to make any effort toward introducing them to foreign customers beyond sending them by rail to one of our seaports, and they accordingly quote their goods at prices in American currency, "free on board," payable in drafts at short sight on delivery of the goods at New York.

The assumption seems to be that when the quality of the goods becomes known, through advertising in English in countries where the English language is not understood, foreign dealers will feel impelled to send for them, no matter how difficult and expensive the transit may be after the goods have left the United States, and no matter what advantages foreign exporters of the same classes of goods may be inclined to give. The superiority of American goods to those of foreign make has been emphasized so much of late that the effect has actually been misleading to many who wish to export, and has caused disappointments which might have been avoided if the subject in hand had been better understood.

The prices quoted by our manufacturers "free on board" at New York might not in most cases be too dear for successful competition in new countries, where development is progressing rapidly, if means existed to transport the goods in American steamers by the most direct route to the countries where they are needed. Most unfortunately for the healthful development of American commerce with new countries, this is not the case. There are several fine steam lines (nearly all of them in the hands of foreigners, and managed, in the first place, to suit the views and interests of foreigners) between ports of America and Europe, and some of the principal ports of Europe have efficient steam lines—managed exclusively in the interests of the countries which sustain them—direct to the new countries where manufactured goods are greatly needed and where they bring the last and highest price. When the steamers belonging to these lines lack cargo from the countries to which they belong their managers are, of course, not averse to receiving the goods of their competitors, which have already stood many extra expenses, besides paying a trans-Atlantic freight, and in this way, by making precarious and always costly connections, American goods can eventually reach their destination. They are often carried nearly 3,000 miles out of their way, and they are handled

and levied upon to the end of their circuitous route by foreigners who, as a rule, have no desire that they shall succeed. How can it be expected that American commerce will have the development it deserves in new countries where manufactured goods are not produced, but where they are greatly needed, when nothing is done to change conditions which threaten even the continuance of the trade we already have?

I know it is contended that, under conditions as they exist, commerce in America has nothing to complain of; that our exports have lately been vastly in excess of our imports in value, and that if foreigners can do our freighting cheaper than we can, while our capital is better employed in developing the resources of our own vast country, the best way is to let them do it. There is, no doubt, a fraction of truth in these assertions, but they are very far from covering the whole ground. Complacency may be natural while we contemplate our natural resources, but it need not blunt our sense of proportion. As one of the biggest countries on earth, we may need a share in the trade of vast regions of the globe where manufacturing will not be carried on for perhaps a century as well as smaller nations, which are aiming, by means of their shipping facilities, to practically exclude us from such markets. The United States is almost as near the tropical and south temperate parts of Africa as Europe is, and yet, according to the latest estimates, has scarcely 5 per cent. of its import trade.

And if our competitors who now do our freighting manage it so as to keep our manufacturers from the best, because the newest, markets, while they import our excess of food products in order to feed their competing operatives cheaply, the result in time may not be gratifying to our pride. While we are thus swallowing the bait of a temporary prosperity, our wary competitors are intrenching themselves politically as well as commercially in regions which will take their goods for centuries, and, more and more as time goes by, furnish them with food in return, to the exclusion of the products now exported by us. This may sound strange to some, but this country (Senegal) even now abounds in corn fields as rank in growth as any which could be found in America; its swamps produce rice, which, if cultivated extensively, would yield enough for exports on the largest scale; and beef animals are so abundant that sirloin steak is supplied at only 15 cents a pound.

We might easily gain and maintain a respectable footing in this great market if we had well-appointed steamers under the American flag to bring our goods direct to it, and to receive such of the products of Africa as are wanted by our manufacturers in return. If this is done without an unnecessary loss of time, it may quickly change the value of our trade with these parts of Africa from 5 to 15 or 20 per cent. of the whole; but if direct communication under the American flag is not soon established with Africa, there are many reasons for believing that we shall not in the future maintain even our present poor ratio of 5 per cent. of the trade of a country almost three times the size of Europe, as easily accessible to us and of probably far greater resources. I will here mention a few of the causes why, without steamers of our own, we shall probably not retain our present insignificant share of the traffic.

Europeans who are established, politically as well as commercially, in Africa generally commence their custom-house regulations by putting a small export tax on produce, which, as the burden comes alike to all, does not excite apprehension or comment in any quarter. Records are also kept of the movements of vessels, ostensibly for the purpose of acquiring statistics, but in reality the object is to get the coast line under the commercial control of the nations which establish the apparently harmless custom-houses. This is usually accomplished by the time fortifications are erected which command the seaports, and the natives who inhabit the coasts and seaports are brought first under military and then under complete civil control. A modest import duty of about 5 per cent. on all goods arriving is then imposed, but as this is burdensome to none it is also esteemed fair. A few years serve to confirm each nation in the rights it has claimed, and then the regulations are cautiously begun which exclude countries situated like the United States—with no ships of their own visiting the country, no merchants striving intelligently to open trade with it, and no consuls who are equipped to promote the interests of their compatriots—from their legitimate share in the trade. Extra duties are charged on goods not produced in the countries which claim the colonies, not at first to the point of prohibition, but capable of being extended in that way. The port charges for vessels are arranged so as to bear hard on all but steam lines, and so it happens that

if an American sailing vessel should come here now with a general cargo she would be obliged to pay 1 franc (19.3 cents) a ton on her registered tonnage for the privilege of discharging it, while a steam liner from Europe would pay nothing.

The colonies in Africa are also, to an extent, being exploited by mercantile companies which have their principal places of business in the cities of Europe, and these companies are largely, in their very organization, inimical to American interests. One shareholder may be a soap manufacturer in Marseilles, interested that the factories of his company in the colony shall not buy American soap; another shareholder may be a cotton manufacturer in Flers or Manchester and interested that the company shall not buy American cotton goods, and another may be a lumber merchant in Norway, interested that the company shall not deal in American lumber. Thus the governments, merchants, manufacturers, and ship-owners of Europe are in accord on the subject of keeping Americans away from this richest of countries, the development of which they hope to enjoy for ages. Only a few years since (in the days of sail) Americans had the same right here commercially as others, and were not backward in exercising it. How is it, then, that they have so quickly lost all or nearly all? In my opinion, it is simply because they have as a nation neglected their ocean-carrying trade and allowed unsympathetic foreigners to attend to what should have been their own first business.

Previous to 1870 the west coast of Africa was connected with Europe as well as with America, principally by sail, and as long as this state of things existed Americans held their own in Africa and had perhaps, all things considered, their full share of its budding trade. The American flag was then never absent from the coast. American goods were known everywhere and liked, and fortunes were made by Americans doing business in this way. But the advent of steam has changed all this. The French government first heavily subsidized the Messageries Maritimes Company, in order to have the large and fine steamers which ply fortnightly between Bordeaux and Brazil stop at Dakar. The Transport Maritime line from Marseilles followed, its steamers also making fortnightly trips. Then came in quick succession the Chargeurs Reunis line from Havre, the Fraissinat line from Marseilles, and the Ligne Mixte. Cables were laid

along the coast of Africa to facilitate the business of these government-assisted lines, and sail almost disappeared from the coast. The great Elder,| Dempster Company of Liverpool, England, also established a fortnightly service between Liverpool and this part of the coast, and the Woerman line of steamers from Hamburg kept the interests of the German merchants and manufacturers on as sure a footing as the others.

With all these first-class facilities for commerce, Americans, by sail and without subsidies, could of course not compete. So after keeping up a running fight for a few years with tobacco, petroleum, pitch-pine lumber, and a few other articles peculiarly American—until Europeans themselves began to bring the two former by steam in quantities as wanted—the American merchants were obliged to own themselves beaten, and one by one their vessels were withdrawn from the trade. Tens of thousands of tons of goods, with which Americans could successfully compete if they had steamers of their own, are being distributed here, but in the midst of all this activity no one could tell from appearances that such a country as the United States exists. I see scores of European steamers coming and going, loading and discharging, almost every week, but during a residence of more than twenty years in the country I have never yet seen an American merchant steamer in African waters.

Here are railroads being built and equipped, millions of natives being clothed and otherwise provided with the appliances of civilization, wharves, bridges, and docks being constructed, and electric plants and appliances being introduced, while we are taking no part in the furnishing of all these things.

But it may be asked, If the trade of Africa is so desirable, why did not the American merchants who formerly did business here and used sail for transport organize steam lines like their European competitors for the continuation of their business? To answer this question it is only necessary to say that, as Americans have not thought themselves able to do it with the old countries on the east side of the Atlantic, nor with South America, how can it be expected that they should succeed in such an enterprise where the conditions would be more difficult? The 150,000,000 people in Africa do not need our bulky grain, nor our cotton, nor our animals, either slaughtered or on the hoof; but they do need our flour, our biscuits, our Indian-corn

meal, our cotton goods, our hams, our preserved meats, fish, vegetables, boots and shoes, tools, machinery, and locomotives, with hundreds of other things I need not mention, nearly all of which are now furnished by Europe, even though the country of their origin be the United States. What is needed is the means of getting our goods here under American control.

Many Americans may say that our country is at present enjoying very good times without African trade, but the letters and circulars mentioned at the commencement of this report make it evident that others are apprehensive that without a fairer chance in the world's markets their exceptionally good times may not last. The welfare of our manufacturers requires that good lines of steamers under the American flag should be established immediately between the United States, Africa, South America, and all other large countries where development is progressing, at whatever cost.

In order to connect the United States well with Africa (except the Barbary States and Egypt) there should be, perhaps, two lines of steamers; one to ply between some port in the Northeastern States, presumably Boston, and the countries of Africa between Cape Verde and Loanda, taking in St. Vincent, in the Cape Verde islands; the other line might start, say, from New York and take in the countries between Loanda and Zanzibar, including a port in Madagascar. The steamers of both these lines should be well equipped for mails and passengers, and subsidized to an extent which should lead to their immediate establishment and serve to maintain them against the competition of rival foreign lines, as nothing is more certain than that a determined effort would immediately be made to "run them off."

The first steamers should sail, I think, monthly, and stop at one port in each colony or country between Cape Verde and Loanda. There is no port of importance which can be entered by large steamers between Cape Verde and Morocco. The first port for the northern line to make, after leaving America, would be St. Vincent, which is important as a coaling station and is also an entrepôt for considerable commerce. The next port would be Gorée or Dakar; then Bathurst, Bissau, Konakry, Sierra Leone, Monrovia, Grand Bassam, and so on, one port in each colony to Loanda. Each steamer, in going and returning,

would spend a little more than two months on the coast, and perhaps three months and a half in making a complete voyage. This would indicate, perhaps, six or seven steamers for the northern line in order to insure monthly trips—a modest number, surely, when it is reflected that the Elder, Dempster Company of Liverpool alone has more than sixty steamers on its advertised list which cover the same route.

The first steamers should be, I think, of 2,500 or 3,000 tons gross and capable of making at least 12 knots. There would immediately be a large amount of freight and some passengers for such a line of steamers, and both would increase after establishment in almost a geometrical ratio. All the American goods which now pass through Europe on their way here (going nearly 2,500 miles out of their course and paying about 25s., or $6.25, per ton extra) would be sent direct, and as soon as trade could be organized so as to profit by the new conditions, it is possible that the number of steamers would have to be increased and their sailings made more frequent. It is very likely that such a line of steamers would more than double the amount of American goods at present exported to this country and greatly increase the variety within a year.

But there is no question that without help from the government no line of steamers under the American flag could exist on this coast. Since our necessary expenses would be greater, one could hardly exist if foreign steamers were not subsidized, and all the odds are allowed to be against our merchants and ship-owners; and this brings us again to the question whether it is safe and best to make our own coast line our counter for our manufactured goods, or whether it is not vastly better to imitate our rivals in seeking out the consumer wherever he may be found, with all the means and appliances for giving him satisfaction wholly under our own control. The facilities will cost us something more than our competitors have to pay for theirs, but it is far better so than that we should trust customers 4,000 miles away to send us orders for goods on the strength of circulars printed in a language they do not understand.

It may not be amiss to adduce a few facts and figures which are said, above all other arguments, to be convincing. Africa is a country in which considerable leaf tobacco is used, because in a manufactured state its price puts it out of the reach of the

natives. There are millions of people inland who consume more or less of it, so that the aggregate is large. The article was introduced by Americans in the days when commerce was carried on by sail, and it is one of the few products of our soil exported to Africa.

Leaf tobacco for this market is generally packed in casks weighing about 800 pounds net, and freighted here principally by steamers coming from Europe, which receive it by transshipment from the various trans-Atlantic lines, and Liverpool is a port through which a large part of it passes. Now, Liverpool lies in a direction northeasterly from New York, about 3.100 miles distant. Gorée-Dakar, in Africa, on the contrary, lies southeasterly from New York, the course hither leads a ship quickly out of fog and bad weather, and the distance is only about 200 miles greater than that from New York to Liverpool—*i. e.*, 3,300 miles. Gorée-Dakar lies in a southwesterly direction from Liverpool, and the distance between the two places is about 2,400 miles. The freight rate on the steamers from Liverpool and Gorée-Dakar varies according to the kind of merchandise, but it may be stated at 25s. (about $6.25) per ton of 40 cubic feet. The rate for cabin passengers is £18 10s., or about $90. The way casks of tobacco are measured, they seem to amount to about a ton each, and by the above figures it costs more than three-fourths of 1 cent a pound to get our tobacco from Liverpool to this port. Who loses the high freight rate, I shall not stop to discuss, but there is no question about who gains it. The figures respecting tobacco are true of all merchandise, except that in regard to other goods Europe is a competitor with us.

A line established from the United States would immediately have passengers to carry, both first class and steerage. Small American and Portuguese schooners now carry steerage passengers between New Bedford and Cape Verde islands, and it is to be presumed there would be many such passengers between America and Liberia. For first-class passengers there would be the missionaries, who now have to make the long circuit of 5,600 miles via Liverpool and pay an extra £18 10s. for the chance to do it. Direct commerce would soon swell the number of people carried.

I should perhaps state that my opinion in regard to the desirability of direct steam communication has not been formed hastily, nor without ample personal experience in trade between the United States and Africa. As master and supercargo of sailing vessels, I spent fifteen years of the early part of my life in the African trade, which embraced some time before steam was introduced. Nothing that has been advanced in this report is mere theory. All has been worked out in the experience of the writer, who is influenced by the desire to give a comprehensive and final answer to those of his compatriots who apparently think that a flourishing trade can be built up in Africa without direct means of communication under American management. The time is past, the world over, when the consumer has to seek the producer, and unless Americans are willing to provide themselves with effective means of transport to foreign lands they must expect to have their wares in a great measure neglected.

And, without intending to discuss at all the ethics or the expediency of the system of protection, for the sake of consistency it really seems strange that our agricultural and manufacturing interests should be protected while those which relate to our commerce abroad are allowed to shift for themselves.

I hope that this report will be enlightening to those who have written me on the subject of business in Africa within the last few years, and to whom I have hitherto been unable to respond. American steamships carrying from our shores exports of manufactured goods and bringing back raw materials for the use of our manufacturers represent the key to the whole situation.

I should mention that I have taken pains to distribute circulars sent to me, but I am sure that they have been of little benefit. On one occasion only I was asked to order an oil stove worth, with accessories, about $18. The freight from Boston via Liverpool was $13, and it arrived in a damaged condition.

PETER STRICKLAND,
U. S. Consul, Gorée-Dakar, Africa.

THE FRENCH CANADIANS.

BY HOWARD ANGUS KENNEDY.

It is, of course, well known that there are Frenchmen in Canada. We know it as we know that there are mountains in the moon and spots on the sun—remote facts which our minds accept as true, but which fail to kindle any emotion in our hearts. The existence of a French Canadian race is a fact of which we have grasped neither the dimensions nor the significance. These people are not close enough to us, in place or in race, to arouse in us that interest which we feel for the English-speaking colonists who have gone out from our own homes; they are not far enough from us, they are not sufficiently unlike us to excite the curiosity which we feel in savage Africans or picturesque Orientals; they do not annoy us and therefore do not demand that pained attention with which we are compelled to follow the proceedings of our fellow Europeans on the continent, yet they *are* members of our national family; they are very picturesque compared to ourselves, and their future development will have, as their past career has had, a very important influence on the history of the British Empire. They are worth knowing, not only for their own sake, but because they form by far the largest nationality, outside our own English-speaking race, which shares with us the rights and duties of free British citizenship.

The French Canadians vastly outnumber even that Franco-Dutch race which has kept us so inconveniently busy for a couple of years past in South Africa. The little handful of fifty or sixty thousand French farmers and fur-hunters whom we found in the St. Lawrence valley when Canada came into the British Empire 140 years ago have multiplied till now there are two million of them or more. They have filled up the great plain through which the broad St. Lawrence flows; they have spread northwards to the Laurentian mountains and beyond, carving parish after parish out of a wilderness which a few years ago was reckoned unfit for human habitation; they have spread southwards, filling up county after county in the eastern townships, at one time a purely English section of the province of

Quebec; they have spread westward, practically annexing several English or Scottish counties in the province of Ontario; they have even overflowed into the United States, taking possession of farms which the New Englanders have abandoned, and flocking by thousands into the boot and shoe or cotton factories of the Massachusetts towns.

They have achieved this phenomenal increase by their own sheer natural growing power, not, as we have built up strong English communities in the West, by a constant stream of reinforcements from home. The people of France, as we know, do not emigrate. They are not unwilling to possess colonies, but they draw the line at providing them with colonists. They dreamt magnificently a hundred and fifty years ago of creating a French colonial empire in America, and, not content with Canada, they set up a row of forts in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys to bar the great West against the British colonists on the Atlantic coast, but the human tide swept away an artificial military barrier which had no population behind it.

It is a mistake to imagine that the French Canadians represent a stream of French emigration which once flowed freely and has since ceased. Emigrants, as we understand the word, cannot have been very numerous at any time. Some of the original Canadians were aristocrats who were induced to transfer their courtly manners and raiment to the wilderness by monopolies of the fur trade and by grants of large estates, over which they were to exercise feudal authority. As one way of providing these "seigneurs" with subjects, convicts were shipped over from the French jails. Then there were the soldiers who were sent over sea to fight and settled on the land when fighting was done. There were also ship-loads of damsels sent out by a paternal government for the colonial marriage market and whom the settlers were practically compelled to wed. I do not suggest that the majority of the original Canadians belonged to any or all of these classes; but, as the whole population after 150 years of natural increase only numbered something over 50,000, it is plain that the movement of ordinary emigration from France can at no time have been more than trifling.

After all, however, it matters little how the French went to Canada compared with what they did when they got there; and their record deserves some attention, not only because it is full

of romance, but because we cannot understand or appreciate the French Canadians of today without knowing something of their past.

Although Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, sailed up to Montreal and took possession of Canada in the French king's name only forty-two years after Columbus had discovered the existence of America, it was not till 1608 that Champlain laid the foundation of the first French colony at Quebec. (A little settlement had been formed on the Acadian coast four or five years earlier.) Champlain made an offensive and defensive alliance with the Algonquin and Huron Indians, whom he found in his neighborhood, and thus rendered inevitable that feud with the Iroquois (the bitter foes of the Hurons) which cost his people so terrible a price in massacre and torment. The colony spent its infancy in a reign of terror. The builders of Montreal, which was founded in 1642 as a simple missionary outpost, had to carry musket as well as spade when they ventured out to till the fields lying close to the walls; and a few years later, in 1660, when the Iroquois had well-nigh exterminated the Hurons, the French colony itself was in imminent danger of extinction. You have read perhaps in Francis Parkman's glowing pages of brave Adam Dollard and his sixteen comrades, who, after making their wills and receiving the blessing of the church on those about to die, paddled up the Ottawa and held the invading host of Iroquois at bay for a week. Not one of the Frenchmen came back; but they had given the Iroquois such a taste of white men's valor that the defeat had all the effect of a victory, and the red men slunk back to their woods. I should like to speak also of the missionary heroes—men who suffered lingering and indescribable torture without flinching in their efforts to snatch the souls of their persecutors from the torments of hell. But of these, also, you may read in Parkman—if you have the nerve. I must just mention one hero of another type, the explorer La Salle, who set out from Lachine to find his way (as the name of the village still reminds us) to China, and who found his way instead down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, thereby adding for a time the vast territory known as Louisiana to the realms of France. What a roll of honor it is!

Do not imagine that while these men were grappling with their tremendous tasks the common people lived commonplace

and unadventurous lives. The early Canadian lived in a constant dread of the Iroquois, and was always ready to go off at a moment's notice to repel an Indian raid or to make a counter raid into the Iroquois country. The farmers in the outlying settlements never knew when they went to bed at night but the house would be burnt over their heads before morning. This constant state of war has left its mark upon the country to the present day. The habitants would not live in villages as their governors tried to make them; they would live on their farms. And yet isolation would be fatal, so they could not (even if they had wished to do it for other reasons) build their houses in the middle of four-square farms such as you see today in the northwest. They solved the problem by laying out the country in long ribbon-like farms, each having a narrow frontage on a river, and building their houses in a string along the bank of the stream. They were thus within easy hail of each other, as well as close to their only way of communication, or the river not only gave them fish and water, but formed their high road, traversed by canoe in summer, by sleigh and snow-shoes in winter. The Iroquois peril is now forgotten; but new farms are still laid out in the same ribbon-pattern, with the houses strung along the edge of river or road. Some profess to trace in the character of the people, at any rate in their courteous manners and hospitality, one effect of the old stormy days, when the commonalty used often to take shelter from the Iroquois in the strong stone house of the seigneur, and live in close and compulsory association with the aristocracy of France.

The Indians were not the only human foes against whom the French Canadians were taught to fight. Both in the southeast and in the northwest they came into contact, and therefore collision, with the English. Our sovereigns, in virtue of the discovery of Newfoundland (or perhaps Cape Breton) by the Cabots, laid claim to the Atlantic coast of the North American continent, and Port Royal, the first French settlement in Acadia, was speedily destroyed by an expedition sent up the coast by the governor of Virginia. The British forts set up on Hudson's Bay by the great company chartered by Charles II, in 1670, were in like manner destroyed more than once by French expeditions. Even when the French and English kings were nominally at peace, the French and English colonists in

America were often at war, and both sides were only too ready to accept the alliance of savages. The French, however, had more intimate relations than the English with their Indian friends. This was partly the result, the unintentional result, of the commercial policy imposed on New France by the French court. The only trade thought of any consequence in the early days of the colony was the fur trade, and that was a strict monopoly in the hands of *concessionnaires* who happened to be in favor at the court. The ordinary settlers were forbidden, under most barbaric penalties, to buy a single beaver-skin from the Indians; yet the temptation was very great, and hundreds of young Frenchmen forsook their farms and defied the law under cover of the forest, which covered practically the whole country. At one time nearly a tenth of the population were roaming from camp to camp among the Red Men, buying up the peltries which should have come down to the monopolists at Quebec, and smuggling their illicit wares across the frontier to the Dutch and English traders from New York. It was greatly feared that instead of civilizing the natives these *coureurs de bois* would themselves be lost to civilization, sinking to the level of the pagan barbarians among whom they chose to live. Happily, this fear was not realized, and the only lasting effect of that curious episode is an intermixture of blood which may be noticed today, not only in the so-called Indian reservations near Montreal and Quebec, but in the features and complexion of many a French Canadian family. While I am on this point of racial evolution I may just mention what is known perhaps to most of you, that many of the Scottish and Hessian soldiers who fought on our side during our American wars settled in the province of Quebec and married French wives. Today you will find many a Fraser, a Ross, a Maclean, a Schiller, a Karl, who is indistinguishable in language, in religion, in sentiment, in all but name, from the French Canadian race which has absorbed them all.

Under the old *régime* the Canadians were treated practically as serfs. True, it was not often that a seigneur received powers of life and death over his people, but the habitant (as the true settler was called to distinguish him from the *hivernant*, who only came out in the autumn and returned to France in the spring) was compelled to do a certain amount of work for his

lord, to bring all his corn to be ground in the seigniorial mill, to pay a small yearly rent, and to give the seigneur 8 per cent. of the price on any sale of the tenant-right. The king's governor and intendant were much more oppressive than the seigneur. The townsfolk were at first allowed to elect a syndic who might present petitions in their name, but even this morsel of liberty was snatched away by the jealous authorities. "It is most important," one of the intendants said, "not to let the people speak their minds." The country folk dared not even leave their farms for a visit to the town without leave, under penalty of heavy fines.

When we took over Canada, therefore, the Canadians had no fear lest we should deprive them of political liberty which they had never possessed. They were afraid we should try to rob them of their national customs, and especially of their religion, and they were greatly relieved to find that we let them alone. The change of flag, the substitution of a British soldier for the old French governor at Quebec, made no difference to the habitants, except a very welcome change from long years of war to the *pax Britannica*. The colonists who had been fighting side by side with Montcalm's regulars went back to their farms and resumed their simple life under the benevolent, if somewhat too paternal, rule of the parish priest.

There came a time, however, at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, when the French Canadians developed an appetite for self-government. It was a healthy appetite, shared by the British Canadians of Upper Canada, and, although the armed rebellions which broke out in both provinces were speedily repressed, they achieved their object, and the rebels were gratefully canonized as patriots. Canada was endowed with a neat and complete system of parliamentary government, responsible ministers and all. As you know, the French and English provinces found it hard to pull together in double harness, so in 1867 the experiment of legislative union was replaced by the Federal system as we now see it. The French Canadians engage in the political game with much zest, but I am afraid they hardly realize as yet the serious side of what they are doing. To tell the truth, the habitant cares not as much as he ought for what goes on in the legislature controlled by his race at Quebec, and still less for what goes on in the Federal

Parliament, where his fellow-Frenchmen are in a minority and where they discuss such dull questions as protection and reciprocity. Then, you may ask, what does he care for what goes on at Westminster? And I must candidly say that, so far as I have been able to probe his mind, he cares next to nothing. I have conversed with a very intelligent and well-to-do habitant who could not tell me the name of the sovereign who had reigned over the empire then for sixty years, and you will find many who have not the least idea why the people in Montreal and Quebec keep holiday on July 1 or May 24. Every now and then we hear echoes of strong things said about the South African war by French Canadian speakers and editors, but then there are strong things said by English speakers and editors on the same unbalancing topic. The French Canadians, as a whole, have been quite content to leave such matters to Laurier and Salisbury and Chamberlain or any one else who likes to climb the distant peaks of high imperial policy. Nevertheless, they have seen their fellow-colonists depart for England's war without either a blush or a frown. Indeed, there have been in those Canadian contingents men belonging to the race which has given our United Empire many a brave defender, from de Salaberry to Girouard and Joly de Lotbinière.

I am not going to speak tonight of the comparatively sophisticated French Canadian who dwells in cities, but of the countryman, the farmer, or habitant, or the typical Cana'ien.

Jean Baptiste, as this French Canadian variety of the genus John Bull is commonly called, is a really charming character. He is courteous, hospitable, and obliging to a fault, if he is courteously treated; though if you try to drive past him on the road *without* a "By your leave, neighbor," he will see that you don't, for he has a large fund of stubbornness, and even combativeness, to draw on in case of need. I am assured, on French Canadian authority, that he sometimes attaches less importance than he might to rigid accuracy of statement. He is more or less a Celt, and therefore gifted with an imagination; but that does not signify that he is dishonest. He may spend ten minutes trying to beat down your price if you want to sell him a handkerchief, but he pays his debts punctiliously. In regard to what we commonly call "morality" he is an exemplary character. In respect of temperance, he is capable of improvement. If you

see a farm overgrown with thistles, the explanation, as often as not, is "whisky blanc." Yet, compared with ourselves, the French Canadians are a remarkably sober race, and in more than half the municipalities of the province of Quebec the habitants refuse to allow a single license to be issued for the sale of liquor. Jean Baptiste is not a pledged teetotaler, and he will take his dram when offered; but he does not want his sons to acquire the tavern-frequenting habit, in spite of the temptation to increase the municipal revenue by means of license fees. Jean Baptiste has the gift of fluent speech, and he can swear powerfully, especially at his horse; but his profanity is superficial, and at bottom he is a pious and charitable soul. Physically he is usually a rather lean, but strong and wiry and well set-up man, of dark complexion and of middle height. His children are a delight to the eyes. The beauty of his womenkind is too often ruined by wearing toil.

The habitant has the reputation of a man who carries thrift to a penurious extreme. His objection to spending money is not unnatural when you consider that until lately he has had very little money to spend. He hates the very idea of direct taxation, and the only authorities that venture to levy a rate upon his property confine their demands to extremely modest figures. The country people are condemned by law to elect a municipal council every year. With us that would inevitably mean a yearly-mounting bill for rates. But in a French Canadian parish it is well understood that, whatever else the councilors do, they must not spend money. The real estate in a certain parish of my acquaintance is assessed at £100,000. The whole municipal tax comes to £26 a year. Then there is a county council, composed of the mayors of all the municipalities, who have to keep a few bridges in repair, and so forth, but the rates which they demand only come to £40 for the whole county. But there is also a local school board. This is a great nuisance, for it draws on the parochial purse to the extent of something like £100 a year. Of that the school commissioners pay the tremendous salary of £20 to the young woman who professes to teach. In another parish they are more economical, and the poor girl has to get on with £11. Of course, she has had no training for her profession, and, almost equally of course, the inspector reports the educational results as *nil*. I should add that in the province

of Quebec a large part of the instruction, both elementary and secondary, is given by religious orders, and that the standard of education in the rate-supported or rate-starved schools is slowly, but steadily, rising.

To study the French Canadian race, to see the typical habitant, you cannot do better than visit the north shore of the St. Lawrence. South of the river he comes more into contact with the English and Scottish farmers, thereby acquiring ideas which may improve his methods of cultivation, but certainly tend to obliterate some of his national peculiarities. In many of the northern parishes, between the river and the forest primeval, you will find not a single individual of British descent. Let us leave the railway, then, at some point between Quebec and Montreal, and embark with the driver of His Majesty's mail, who has just deposited under the seat of his cart an almost empty sack containing the day's postal communications for a parish five or six miles north. "Marche, donc!" shouts the driver, and away the lean horse trots. The country-side through which we pass is not over-attractive. Many parts of the province are exquisitely beautiful, with all the charm of forest and river and lake. You would never think of coming to this particular district, however, if you were more interested in scenery than in humanity. The land may be fertile, but it is also—and partly for that reason—very bare. Scarce a tree has been left of the great forest that came down everywhere to the water's edge when Jacques Cartier made that first memorable voyage up the river to Montreal. The fences are made of rough, split-cedar logs, with a few wild flowers straggling on either side. There are no hedges. The houses, as a rule, look substantial enough, with thick stone walls, surmounted by high-pitched roofs of tin or wooden shingles, which are pierced by a row of tiny dormer windows, sometimes by two rows, one above the other. There is very likely a little uncovered platform in front, perhaps even a roofed veranda. The walls are whitewashed, but the woodwork may or may not have been painted. There are no gardens—well, I have seen gardens here and there, with fuchsias and geraniums all a-bloom, and even a croquet lawn, where the convent-bred daughters of some well-to-do notary or superannuated government official disport themselves on state occasions. But the ordinary habitant makes no attempt at such embellishments. The houses are rarely

large, and sometimes very small—nice little cottages, we should say, for married couples "without incumbrance." But such a couple is rarely found among the tribe of Jean Baptiste, who thinks he has only done his duty by society moderately well if he has a dozen children, and often goes over the score.

Ascending a gentle incline, we leave the fertile alluvial river-side lands and come on a strip of soil so sandy and poor that many a farmer has nailed up his windows and gone to seek better fortune in the States. This sandy strip is really the prehistoric beach of the river. It is soon left behind, and we find ourselves again in the midst of plenty. Down below the principal crop was hay, with grain as a good second. Here the order is reversed, and the cereal harvest consists chiefly of peas and oats, often sown and reaped together, and either separated by winnowing, after being threshed, or used and sold together under the name of *guadriole*. Potatoes and corn are grown in fairly large quantities, too—Indian corn, that is, or maize. You see the ears ranged picturesquely on the roof-ridge to dry. Presently the dead silence of the fields is broken by the whirr of machinery and we come upon an habitant threshing his *guadriole* by means of a curious engine, the motive power consisting of a team of horses perpetually walking up a sort of treadmill. This thing is called a "double wospaur." The name puzzled me a little till I discovered it to be simply the English compound "horse-power."

One of the most interesting studies, by the way, to those who are curiously inclined, is that of French Canadian philology. Some folk are under the impression that Jean Baptiste speaks a corrupt kind of *patois*, and that a man from France cannot understand him. It is quite a delusion. There are no such dialects in Canada as there are in France itself. All over the southern half of France you will hear the common people speaking a *patois* which a Parisian can scarcely make head or tail of. Jean Baptiste, on the other hand, speaks good old French, though he occasionally runs his words together, and sometimes pronounces a final consonant which in France would be left mute. He speaks, I must also say, with a sonorous accent, which sounds very different from the lip-talk of Paris. Good old French, I say, and he shows no sign of an intention to give it up for English; yet, as you listen to his chat, you hear now and then a

word that sounds strangely familiar, especially when he talks about trade or mechanical industry. He will ask you "quelle beezneese" you carry on. He will tell you he has sold his hay to "un gros sheepeur." If he is prosperous and enterprising, he discards the antiquated hay cart, a sort of big basket on two wheels, and buys (on the installment plan) a highly colored four-wheeled "ouagine." In his carpentry operations he wields the "spoke-shave," the "wrench," and the "clamp," these tools having been introduced to him through English channels. If he goes by rail he takes a "tiquette," though he is not luxurious enough to travel in the "slipeur." Sometimes he uses an English word or phrase simply because it is shorter and more direct than the French, like "revolver" for *pistolet a repetition*, "potate" for *pomme de terre*, or "polisman" for *homme de police*. When we say that a horse is hard to beat, he says it is "malaisé à beater." That most expressive Anglicism, "all right," he has adopted with gusto, and he even says "adidouce" ("how d'ye do, sir?") instead of *comment vous portez vous?* The youngsters of Quebec have been observed playing a game of marbles which they call *la snoque*, never dreaming that it is simply the English game of "the last knock."

But we must be getting on, for the road is bad. A Canadian road is not often anything else. The *chemin du roi*, as the highway is always called, whether the king is a queen or not, is not maintained by, though it is nominally under the supervision of, a public authority. Each habitant has to keep in repair that section of road which passes the front of his farm. I have seen him, in the discharge of this obligation, filling up the worst holes with tobacco stalks or corn cobs, or, if he is very enterprising, pulling the dirt up from the sides to the middle with a wooden rake, an operation which is speedily undone by a heavy shower. The provincial government is trying, with some little success, to persuade the municipalities to adopt road-making machines, but it will be long before traveling becomes tolerable, except when the snow is on the ground. As things are, if a farmer wants to draw a heavy load to market, he sends round to the neighbors whose homes he expects to pass, and they make shift to patch up the highway for his use.

In this French country, I am sorry to say, the farming has not a very much better reputation than the road-making. The

habitants used to burn their straw to get rid of it, and if a Scottish farmer settled among them, he could have all the manure he wanted for the trouble of taking it away; but the world moves, even that section of the world which lies north of the St. Lawrence. Jean Baptiste is discovering that he must put into his land as much as he takes out of it or else it will starve. Agricultural education is carried on not only by itinerant government lecturers, but, curiously enough, by a number of priests, who have been released by their bishop from spiritual duties for this object. In the last few years, moreover, quite a revolution has been brought about by the establishment of butter and cheese factories all over the province. I have seen a good old French Canadian woman making butter by stirring up the milk in a pail with her hand, and the up and-down churn, which is only a shade less primitive, is still common among the poorer habitants. In the new order of things the milk is called for regularly every morning and driven to the factory, there to be transformed by methods of scientific precision into a good uniform quality of butter or cheese for the British market. The money we pay is divided proportionately among the contributors of milk. A farmer who kept five or six cows a few years ago keeps twenty or thirty now. The starved fields are being fed and fertilized by the resulting manure, and the increased supply of spending money in the rural districts is having an appreciable effect on the habitant's manner of life, and making his custom of more and more value to the merchants and manufacturers of the Dominion.

Our road now crosses a little river by a bridge, which is also a tunnel, a kind of tubular bridge, built of wood, and representing a lavish waste both of timber and of toil. Scientists trace the development of mankind from a Stone Age to an Iron Age, but in Canada a Wooden Age came between, and the French Canadians are scarcely out of it yet. Here and there on some remote farm you will even find Jean Baptiste turning up the furrows with a wooden ploughshare, drawn by a yoke of oxen, or perhaps by an incongruous team of ox and pony.

On the first farm we now pass we catch sight of madame herself, reaping a few belated tobacco plants with a sickle. We think of that fascinating weed as the product of a hot climate, but on almost every French Canadian farm you will see a field

of its graceful greenery waving in the wind. As for the quality, I prefer not to speak, but the habitant smokes no other and is content. Some of his womenkind smoke it, too, in short clay pipes, as they do in certain corners of the British Islands, by the way. Madame does not smoke, but she has no objection to the £10 a year that my Lady Nicotine contributes to the family treasury. With great pride she takes us round to see the main crop hanging from wires in the barn to dry. "It's all sold to a Montreal factory," she tells us, "at 5¾ cents a pound. Our neighbors over the way only get 4½ cents."

These French Canadian women are miracles of industry. They have the breakfast ready for the menfolk at six in the morning; attend to the numerous children, so far as they need attention; give the floor of the living-room its daily scrubbing; put on the soup for dinner; make the bread; spin, weave, and sew; feed the chickens, if there are any; lend a strong hand in the field-work; keep the cash, and lead the family prayers when the day is done. If we visit madame in the afternoon, we shall find her sitting or standing at her loom—the good old hand-loom that has woven the *étoffe du pays* in which I don't know how many generations of the family have been clothed. Not only cloth but carpets does she weave; coverlids and blankets, too. To eke out the supply of fresh wool she tears up the old material of worn-out coats and pantaloons and weaves it over again. It is slow work, but if she has not too many children she has a surplus of cloth or carpet to sell when the long winter is over—to sell, or rather to trade, receiving in barter perhaps 45 per cent. of its retail price. At another homestead you may find the lady of the house weaving, not cloth, but sheeting of an imperishable quality. She has made the linen herself from the very beginning. All she asked of her husband was that he should bring the sheaves of flax from the field. The breaking of it on the wooden *breye*, the spinning, and the weaving have all been done by her own hand.

The spirit of the time, aided by the increased circulation of cash, is breathing destructively on these old home industries. Already the picturesque costume of the old French habitant has almost vanished—the long *capote* coming down to the knees and girt about the waist with a gaily colored sash; the knitted *tuque* hanging over the ear; the *nippes*, strips of cloth wound

round the feet and ankles in place of stockings; the homespun trousers tucked into the *bottes sauvages*. The spinning-wheel and hand-loom will soon go the way of the wooden plow and of the tin lantern pierced with many holes, but destitute of glass. The shopkeepers will profit by the change, and the women will have a little more leisure; but French Canadian life will sink more and more to the commonplace level of the twentieth century.

So far as food is concerned, the habitant's fare is simplicity itself, not to say monotony. No French kickshaws for him! Bread, pork, and peas; peas, pork, and bread—that is all he asks. Once a week madame makes up a big fire in the great clay oven standing out under a little wooden roof by the roadside. When she thinks the fire has smoldered long enough—there is no chimney and therefore no draught—she rakes it all out and pushes in the batch of bread. When dinner time comes the habitant and his wife take their seats, and perhaps there are chairs for one or two of the elder children. The rest stand around the clean but clothless table, and all fill their platters from the big bowl of pea soup in the middle. A brick of salt pork has been boiled in the soup, and that is all the meat in the bill of fare. After dinner the remainder of the soup is put back on the fire to simmer away till supper time, when it is much improved in quality. A good deal of tea is consumed—a cheap variety—as strong as boiling can make it; but milk is an equally common drink. In summer and autumn there are plenty of wild strawberries and wild raspberries and blueberries for dessert. In many parts of the province game is plentiful, especially wild duck on the river and partridge in the woods, but the habitant prefers salt pork. Now, pea soup is nourishing, but it is a little monotonous, and, combined with everlasting salt pork summer and winter, does not form an ideal diet. It is not surprising, therefore, that dyspepsia is common. The children suffer most, for the little things begin their career of salt pork and pea soup when they are nine or ten months old. This is doubtless one of the reasons for the terribly high death rate in most of the French counties. Another reason is that ventilation is almost unknown. When the long winter begins the chinks of the window sashes are carefully sealed up with paper and paste, and the closed iron stoves are often kept red hot. With fresh air thus carefully

excluded, there is plenty of work for the doctor, who provides attendance and physic *ad lib.* for a yearly subscription of two, three, or four dollars per family.

You must not imagine from the tremendous amount of work done by the women that the men leave all the hard labor to them, like the Red Indians. With a large family to support and with hired help almost unobtainable, there is work enough for man and woman, boy and girl, all the year round—either on the farm or in the woods. I was saying just now that the farm was generally bare of trees; that end of the farm, I should say, which alone is visible from the road. The rear end of the farm, the hinterland of the homestead, so to speak, is generally left under its original covering of forest. Here is the habitant's "sugar bush"—his grove of sugar maples, which he bleeds when the sap runs strong in the spring. Here, too, he comes for the year's supply of fuel. But the woods to which the poorer habitants migrate in large numbers when farm-work is ended by frost lie far away in the north and in the west. Leaving his wife and children to look after the house and the live stock, Jean Baptiste spends his winter in the depths of the forest, in the employ of one or the other of the lumber kings, who have purchased the right to cut timber over a vast stretch of otherwise unused territory belonging to the provincial government. The life is not unpleasant. The men spend their days out on the sunlit snow, felling trees and rolling the logs into the nearest valley, to be floated down to the navigable river when the ice melts and the freshets run in the spring. At night they sleep in the tiers of bunks which line the sides of great log shanties. Sunday is always devoted to rest and recreation. Occasionally a priest penetrates the forest, an altar is raised in the shanty, and all the lumbermen attend mass as reverently as if they were at home in the village church.

Hard as the French Canadians toil, their life cannot justly be described as "all work and no play." Even in their work they find pleasure. They are really a most sociable and neighborly people. They will lend each other their horses, wagons, and farm implements, their tea and sugar, anything and everything, knowing that they can always borrow in their turn. They will come together to help any neighbor to thresh the *gaudriole*, to break the flax, to raise the new barn, to saw the winter's wood,

to husk the corn, and these "bees," as they are called in New England, are genuine festivals. Christmas, New Year, and Twelfth Night are their great holidays, and after midnight mass on Christmas eve they will often assemble in large parties for a *fricot*, a feast enlivened by the ballads and *chansons* that were old in the days of the Grand Monarque. On the last night of the year the young men will, perhaps, tramp round the parish singing the *guignolet* and collecting a rich store of provender, not for themselves, but for the poor. There is no poor-law in the province nor need of any. The better-off see to it that their poorer neighbors do not suffer cold or hunger. If a man has fallen into low water, he has only to secure a certificate from the *curé*, and he can get all he wants by a tour among his fellow-parishioners, who are too proud to have it said that their poor must wander into another parish to beg. Some of these beggars pay richly for their keep by telling stories. I have heard of a good *raconteur* (not necessarily a beggar by any means) who would rattle off the whole "Arabian Nights" if you would only stay to listen. Story-telling and asking riddles, with *dames*, a game of checkers played with an inordinate number of draughtsmen, and dominoes and cards—these are the favorite indoor pastimes in the long winter evenings. As for outdoor sports, the habitant is no devotee of athleticism, but he dearly loves a trotting match on the ice of the river or a cock-fight in the bush.

Dancing is a pastime which appeals irresistibly to the light hearts and light heels of the French Canadian. Any variety of this exercise which involves the contact of a masculine arm with a feminine waist is strictly forbidden by the *curé*, who, indeed, discourages dancing altogether, except at a wedding. On that occasion the whole settlement relaxes and gives itself up to merry-making. There is no honeymoon trip, but the bride and groom go for a long drive through the parish, with their friends and neighbors after them in procession. When they get back to the house there is a grand supper—meat pies, for instance, flavored with cinnamon; blood puddings, "sagamité" (an Indian dish, composed of flour, milk, butter, and maple sugar), and *croquignoles* by the bushel. Thus strengthened, the company dance all night. I suppose I ought not to reckon funerals among the festivals, but a wake brings together a large assembly of neighbors, who are mildly entertained with tea and coffee.

As to the home life of the French Canadians, I believe it to be at least as harmonious and affectionate as that of any British race. The attitude of the children to their parents is not deferential to the point of servility, but the freedom which they evidently feel does not seem to degenerate, as it does undoubtedly in many English-speaking families in both hemispheres, into disrespect. On New Year's morning every member of the family, including married sons and daughters, who have homes of their own, come and kneel before the old couple to receive the parental blessing. The habitant and his wife, who commonly hold their farm *en communaute de biens*, are accustomed to make a joint will, designating one of their sons as the heir. It is generally the eldest, but not necessarily, the choice falling on the young man who is most likely to manage the property with wisdom and thrift. The heir brings his bride to live under the parental roof, and often enters into possession during his father's lifetime. This privilege carries heavy responsibilities with it. The heir binds himself to support his father and mother and perhaps one or two dependent aunts, as long as they live; to bury them and pay for requiem masses when they are dead; also to endow his younger brothers with certain stated amounts when they start farming on their own account, and to supply dowries for any of his sisters who may be still to marry. A common dowry will be two cows, two sheep, an *armoire* full of linen, a spinning-wheel, and $100 in cash. To discharge these liabilities the habitant and his heirs may have to mortgage their farm, but they do not shirk their obligations on that account. It should not be imagined that the young men of the community make their matrimonial selections according to the amount of dowry that their father-in-law is willing to give. On the contrary, it is the father-in-law who makes the keenest inquiry into the position and prospects of the young man before *la grande demande* is agreed to. Practically all the matings of the French Canadians are marriages of affection, and it may be added that you will rarely find a man over twenty-five or a woman over twenty outside the celibate professions who has not succeeded in entering the holy estate.

Those habitants who succeed in saving money do not invest it, nor do they trust it to a bank. They take it to the country notary, who lends it to some of their less flourishing neighbors.

As a rule, the habitant has little wealth except his house and farm. Even these, often enough, are not his freehold. The situation is very curious. Half a century ago, after a hot agitation, the seigniorial rights were abolished—that is to say, the right to exact a percentage on the sale of the farm, to compel the habitant to bring his corn to the seigniorial mill, and so forth. At the same time it was enacted that any habitant might buy out his freehold and commute his rent by paying such capital sum as would yield the seigneur an equivalent revenue, calculating interest at 6 per cent. In some parishes this power has been largely used. In others scarcely an individual has taken advantage of it, and many habitants do not seem to know of its existence. In such a case the habitant continues to pay the seigneur the yearly rent, commonly 2½ pence an acre, which his ancestors paid under the old *régime*. The original seigniorial families, by the by, have long since been merged in the plebs. The old mansions and rent-rolls have passed into the hands of men who know better than the old nobility how to work and how to save.

I have left myself little time to speak of the habitant's attitude toward religion. In the Province of Quebec the Roman Catholic Church is "by law established"—that is, every man who does not declare himself to be no longer a member of that communion is legally bound to pay tithe, one twenty-sixth of his cereal crops, besides contributions for church-building. If he stops growing grain, he does not escape. The bishop decrees that he shall pay a certain percentage of his hay and tobacco, or perhaps a couple of loads of wood per family, and a householder with no farm will probably be called on for $2 in cash. These supplementary levies are generally paid with as great regularity as if they were collectible by law. In the large centers of population, especially Montreal, there are many men who have no religious belief, though they seldom outwardly break with the church. In the country parts the faith of the Middle Ages remains almost unshaken. There are exceptions, of course, and here and there open revolt has occurred; but, taking the French country as a whole, the *curé* is still the unquestioned authority in matters of faith and morals, though not, as the last few years have shown, in matters of politics. On Sunday morning the whole parish drives to church in buggies,

or farm wagons with extemporized plank seats, or in sleighs, according to the time of the year. After mass the congregation has a supplementary assembly outside, a kind of informal parish council, when the events of their little world are discussed, or an auction held for the benefit of the poor, or a party harangue delivered at election times.

Thrice a day—morning, noon, and evening—the Angelus rings out from the steeple, and the habitant working on his farm bares his head and whispers the prayer that his mother taught him. In the spring he carries a handful of grain to be blessed in church, and then takes it home and mixes it with the rest of his seed corn to insure a good crop. He puts up a statuette of the Virgin in his stable to ward off the cattle sickness. He wears a scapulary under his shirt. His wife sprinkles holy water on the window panes to avert lightning. He believes in ghosts and fairies, in apparitions of the devil, in witches and the evil eye. He marches in procession round the parish, with the sacrament in the midst, when the potato beetle is ravaging his crops or drought is parching the earth. But if you would see French Canadian piety in its moments of supreme exaltation, you must visit the miracle shrine of St. Anne de Beaupré, a few miles below Quebec. It is the Lourdes of the American continent. There you will see thousands of pilgrims arriving daily, flocking from all parts of Canada, and even from the United States, in the hope of some heavenly favor, and the stacks of crutches rising from floor to gallery testify to the gratitude of hundreds who believe that St. Anne has healed their diseases.

I have given but a rough sketch, a mere outline, of the rural French Canadian as I have seen him—at once simple and shrewd, industrious and gay, thrifty and generous. From the point of view of his British fellow-citizens he is a little behind the times, but he is quickening his pace, and when he has caught them up they will have reason to thank Heaven for the help of such a sturdy pair of shoulders in bearing the burden of the Empire.—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute.*

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON THE BIBLE.

As all of you know, there are certain truths which are so very true that we call them truisms, and yet I think we often half forget them in practice. Every thinking man, when he thinks, realizes what a very large number of people tend to forget, that the teachings of the Bible are so interwoven and entwined with our whole civic and social life that it would be literally—I do not mean figuratively, I mean literally—impossible for us to figure to ourselves what that life would be if these teachings were removed. We would lose almost all the standards by which we now judge both public and private morals; all the standards toward which we, with more or less of resolution, strive to raise ourselves. Almost every man who has by his lifework added to the sum of human achievement of which the race is proud, of which our people are proud—almost every such man has based his lifework largely upon the teachings of the Bible. Sometimes it has been done unconsciously, more often consciously; and among the very greatest men a disproportionately large number have been diligent and close students of the Bible at first hand.

Lincoln—sad, patient, kindly Lincoln—who, after bearing upon his weary shoulders for four years a greater burden than that borne by any other man of the nineteenth century, laid down his life for the people whom, living, he had served so well—built up his entire reading upon his early study of the Bible.

He had mastered it absolutely; mastered it as later he mastered only one or two other books, notably Shakespeare; mastered it so that he became almost "a man of one book," who knew that book and who instinctively put into practice what he had been taught therein; and he left his life as part of the crowning work of the century that has just closed.

In this country we rightly pride ourselves upon our system of widespread popular education. We most emphatically do right to pride ourselves upon it. It is not merely of inestimable advantage to us—it lies at the root of our power of self-government; but it is not sufficient in itself. We must cultivate the mind; but it is not enough only to cultivate the mind.

With education of the mind must go the spiritual teaching which will make us turn the trained intellect to good account.

It is an admirable thing, a most necessary thing, to have a sound body; it is an even better thing to have a sound mind; but infinitely better than either is it to have that, for the lack of which neither a sound mind nor a sound body can atone—character. Character is in the long run the decisive factor in the life of individuals and of nations alike.

Sometimes, in rightly putting the stress that we do upon intelligence, we forget the fact that there is something that counts more. It is a good thing to be clever, to be able and smart; but it is a better thing to have the qualities that find their expression in the Decalogue and the Golden Rule. It is a good and necessary thing to be intelligent; it is a better thing to be straight and decent and fearless.

A man must be honest, in the first place; but that by itself is not enough. No matter how good a man is, if he is timid he cannot accomplish much in the world. There is only a very circumscribed sphere of usefulness for the timid good man. So, besides being honest, a man has got to have courage too; and these two together are not enough. No matter how brave and honest he is, if he is a natural-born fool, you can do little with him. Remember the order in which I name them. Honesty first; then courage; then brains, *and all are indispensable.* We have no room in a healthy community for either the knave, the fool, the weakling, or the coward.

You may look through the Bible from cover to cover and nowhere will you find a line that can be construed into an apology for the man of brains who sins against the light. On the contrary, in the Bible, taking that as a guide, you will find that because much has been given to you, much will be expected from you; and a heavier condemnation is to be visited upon the able man who goes wrong than upon his weaker brother who cannot do the harm that the other does, because it is not in him to do it.

So I plead, not merely for training of the mind, but for the moral and spiritual training of the home and the church; the moral and spiritual training that have always been found in and that have ever accompanied the study of this book, this book which, in almost every civilized tongue, can be described

as "The Book," with the certainty of all understanding you when you so describe it.

The teaching of the Bible to children is, of course, a matter of especial interest to those of us who have families. Older folks often fail to realize how readily a child will grasp a little askew something they do not take the trouble to explain. We cannot be too careful in seeing that the biblical learning is not merely an affair of rote, so that the child may understand what it is being taught. And, by the way, I earnestly hope that you will never make your children learn parts of the Bible as punishment. Do you not know families where this is done? For instance: "You have been a bad child—learn a chapter of Isaiah." And the child learns it as a disagreeable task, and in his mind that splendid and lofty poem and prophecy is forever afterward associated with an uncomfortable feeling of disgrace. I hope you will not make your children learn the Bible in that way, for you can devise no surer method of making a child revolt against all the wonderful beauty and truth of Holy Writ.

Probably there is not a mother or a school-teacher here who could not, out of her own experience, give instance after instance of the queer twists that the little minds give to what seem to us perfectly simple sentences. Now, I would make a very strong plea for each of us to try and see that the child understands what the words mean. I do not think that it is ordinarily necessary to explain the simple and beautiful stories of the Bible. Children understand readily the lessons taught therein; but I do think it necessary to see that they really have a clear idea of what each sentence means, what the words mean.

The immense moral influence of the Bible, though, of course, infinitely the most important, is not the only power it has for good. In addition, there is the unceasing influence it exerts on the side of good taste, of good literature, of proper sense of proportion, of simple and straightforward writing and thinking.

The Bible does not teach us to shirk difficulties, but to overcome them. That is a lesson that each one of us who has children is bound in honor to teach these children if he or she expects to see them become fitted to play the part of men and women in our world.

Again, I want you to think of your neighbors, of the people you know. Don't you, each one of you, know some man (I am

sorry to say, perhaps more often, some woman) who gives life an unhealthy turn for children by trying to spare them in the present the very things which would train them to do strong work in the future? Such conduct is not kindness. It is shortsightedness and selfishness. It means merely that the man or woman shrinks from the little inconveniences to himself or herself of making the child fit itself to be a good and strong man or woman hereafter. There should be the deepest and truest love for their children in the hearts of all fathers and mothers. Without such love there is nothing but black despair for the family; but the love must respect both itself and the one beloved. It is not true love to invite future disaster by weak indulgence for the moment.

Bring up your boys with both love and wisdom, and turn them out as men, strong-limbed, clear-eyed, stout-hearted, clean-minded, able to hold their own in this great world of work and strife and ceaseless effort.

If we read the Bible aright, we read a book which teaches us to go forth and do the work of the Lord; to do the work of the Lord in the world as we find it; to try to make things better in this world, even if only a little better, because we have lived in it. That kind of work can be done only by the man who is neither a weakling nor a coward; by the man who in the fullest sense of the word is a true Christian, like Great Heart, Bunyan's hero. We plead for a closer and wider and deeper study of the Bible, so that our people may be in fact as well as in theory "doers of the word and not hearers only."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE RACIAL PROBLEM.

Racial antagonism is a natural instinct, having the force of universal law. Rigorously enforced in the lowest, and subdued, tempered, and refined, still imperative in the highest civilizations. From this law, as from our crude superstitions, there is no complete escape, no perfect freedom.

Even the Maoris, the cannibal aborigines of New Zealand, speak of the blacks with a touch of contempt, says Bishop Patterson.. To racial antagonism is to be added class discrimina-

tion, its natural corollary, and which is equally universal, despite all humanitarian, communistic, or political treatments and experiences whatsoever. The transported Americo-Liberians turn their backs upon their African kinsmen without a trace of racial feeling, derive revenue from a capitation tax upon the natives within their territory, who lease themselves out for terms under the contract labor system, and for a trifling sum paid to the parents, under a system of forced apprenticeship or practical serfdom, hold native children in servitude until they have obtained their majority.

Among our Canadian neighbors and in our own country we have a large field and constant stimuli for such antagonisms and interracial discriminations which are fruitful in the production of political, educational, and social problems demanding solution, and prolific of never-ending discussions. Fortunately our public schools and social freedom act upon the white races as powerful solvents in producing a tolerable homogeneity.

Of these various problems, that of the Negro is the most prominent, and, consequently, the most difficult upon which to advance any new practical suggestions. The most that can be done is to reiterate old truths, and urge their importance and acceptance as the bases of further investigation and their application to present exigencies.

To New England and the North, where the Negro is an unimportant factor in the population, the Negro problem, so called, seems an extremely simple one, the easy solution offered being to give him the rights which belong to political citizenship unreservedly and regardless of any qualification for their exercise—a privilege which, however, they do not themselves grant.

To the South, where he is an extremely important factor in the population and where to give him, as a race, political equality without educational qualification means political and social disaster, the problem is a very different and much more serious one.

As an illustration of the financial results of legislation under the control of ignorant Negroes easily led by unscrupulous whites, we find that in one session of the legislature of South Carolina during the Negro rule the expenses were over one million of dollars.

And while at the close of the civil war the debts of the nine States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North

Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia—aggregated $76,416,430, at the end of the Negro control, in 1877, they aggregated, in a time of peace, $289,868,584, a total increase of $213,452,154, the largest increase being made in Florida, from $370,617 to $15,797,587.

The Negro, with all other races in contact, has his gradations in development and culture more marked in his case by his admixture of blood with a superior race and by a radical difference in environment. The neglect to recognize these developmental gradations in the Negro is a serious obstacle in the way of a more perfect understanding and a rational treatment of his racial needs.

Passing over the numerous discriminations, classifications, and antipathies common in the white races, we find the classification of the Negro with the mulatto—a classification common in both sections of the country—to be not only unreasonable, but replete with injustice.

As early as 1755 the treasurer of the Massachusetts colony made the proper distinction in ordering the selectmen and assessors of Springfield "to tax every Indian, Negro, and mulatto." In an act of Congress, March 3, 1819, an agent is authorized "to receive Negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color." A Negro is not in any sense a mulatto, and the latter is a Negro with certain limitations in the ratio of his admixture of blood. He forms the most intelligent and better part of his race.

"The mulattoes of the United States," says Thomas Fortune, "have since the war taken an unusually prominent part in matters of church and state, and have been faithful to their race."

In Haiti, although largely in the minority, they form the most intelligent portion of the inhabitants and the only class competent to conduct the government (Spencer St. John).

The effect of this indiscriminate classification of the race as a whole is to intensify the mutual antipathy of the mulatto and Negro and to discourage the former class in its effort to maintain its advance. "An atrocious book," as characterized by Mr. C. W. Chesnutt in the *Critic*, recently published under the title of "The American Negro," although written by a mulatto, fails in making the distinction between the educated and uneducated, the progressive and unprogressive classes, sufficiently clear, and in recognizing its importance.

The author's rather vituperative description of the crude, unlettered Negro will fail in its desired stimulative effect upon that class, as it will never reach it. The purpose of such a book should be to emphasize the distinction made by education and morality, and to encourage and inspire the intelligent and cultivated mulattoes and Negroes to take their part with the whites in the task of uplifting the submerged mass, for which work many of them by ability, education, and refinement are amply qualified.

The solution of the racial problem by segregation or separation here or elsewhere is futile. It is not desired by the masses, and if desired would prove a fatal bar to the Negro's advance. The evidence is abundant, not only in our own country but especially where the Negro has governmental control, that his social, moral, mental, and political development are absolutely dependent upon the presence of a superior race.

George Carrington, B. A., in an address made to the Royal Colonial Institute in March, 1898, said: "Not only is the mother country under special moral obligations to her own sons in the West Indies, but also to the Negro laboring classes, which for generations to come must depend on the presence of the white man to prevent their reversion, at *best*, to the semi-barbarism existing in our Virgin Islands, and, at *worst*, to the present sad condition of the Negro in Haiti."

In his present status he lacks organizing and administrative ability, and is deficient in technic capacity and in all the mental qualities necessary for independent racial development, while his imagination and his emotional nature are erratic, undisciplined, and uncontrolled. For these and other reasons (as Mr. Ripley has remarked) "the Negro is useless as a colonist, even for reintroduction into the tropics." *

The parents of all our mistakes and misfortunes in the treatment of the race are our failures to *enforce* and *act* upon the belief in our superior mental and social development and the very natural incapacity of the Negro to comprehend the great difference in the status of the two races or the reason of its existence—failures made more unfortunate by the practical support given to this belief in equality of mental and social development he

* Ripley's "Races of Europe."

obtains from the whites, as indicated by them in the common curricula of the public-school systems for both races in the States where the Negro most abounds.

I quote from section 9 of "An act to regulate public instruction" in one of the most populous counties of Georgia, in which the white and black school population are equal in number: "And be it further enacted, That the county board of education, under the advice and assistance of the trustees in each ward or school district, shall make all the necessary arrangements for the instruction of the white and colored youths in separate schools. They shall provide the same facilities for each, both as regards school-houses and fixtures, attainments and abilities of teachers, length of time, and all other matters pertaining to education; but in no case shall white and colored children be taught together in the same school."

Here, as elsewhere in the country, the mental differentiation is lost sight of in physical separation. "Our educational methods," asserts the author of "The American Negro" in the most logical chapter of his rather illogical book, "are both wrong and profitless. There is an enormous waste of time, money, and results, mainly because we have deliberately blinded the natural capacity and aptitude of the Negro by useless studies."

In this opinion, I am happy to say, the most advanced Negro and colored educators practically agree. A prominent professional teacher remarked a few days since that his race was suffering from intellectual indigestion.

Auguste Comte, in his "Positive Philosophy," outlines the natural order of succession of modern civilization as, first, the industrial and practical; second, the æsthetic and poetical; third, the scientific; fourth, the philosophical; and he suggests that the miraculous existence of Venice, and yet more of Holland, began to be possible by means of obstinate and thoroughly organized industrial effort.

"Industrial pursuit," he continues, "is suitable to the intellectual mediocrity of the vast majority of the race, which can best deal with clear, concrete, limited questions requiring steady but easy attention, admitting of a direct or proximate solution, relating to the practical interests of civilized life, and bringing after them a pretty certain reward of ease and independence in return for sense and industry.

The next test—the influence of the social on the personal instinct—shows us that industrial life favors a universal good-will, and "unquestionably develops new intellectual and sympathetic power in the very lowest class of the population" (Comte's "Positive Philosophy," p. 692).

Culture is essentially the sublimated product of industry and of industrious habits, and in the whole field of history a more concrete illustration of this truth and of the fundamental value of thrift and industry in all human progress than in the sea-born land of Holland cannot be found. The ignorant Negro is too much inclined to attempt the reversal of this evolutionary method and order of succession, and to attempt to acquire culture without the necessary training, which in his racial status is impracticable. He cannot, as he fondly imagines, "at once be made into a white, and is in great danger of being spoiled as a black."

The failures here and in the West Indies to develop the Negro upon European lines have their correlation among the native Africans.

"The native has received what he calls civilization," says the Lagos West African *Weekly Record;* "but the *man*, the genuine *man*, has evaporated in the process. What, then, remains? Nothing. The African is not there, and the European, whom we think we *imitate*, is not there. The end will be the disappointment of the European and the extinction of the native."

It is plain that the education and uplifting of the crude Negro along the lines now generally followed in the public schools of the South is an impossibility. Miss Kingsley has put the case concisely. She asks, "What is it that has made the African useless as a developer?" and replies, "In my opinion, it is the sort of instruction he has received—not that this instruction is bad in itself, but bad from being unsuited to the sort of man to whom it has been given" ("Travels in West Africa," p. 669).

Booker T. Washington repeats this thought. "The Negro," he says, "has been taken from the farm and taught astronomy—how to locate Jupiter and Mars, how to measure Venus—taught about everything except that which he depends upon for his daily bread—scientific agriculture."

What the Negro needs, what the poor white planter equally needs, whose lands are exhausted by improvident and ignorant

culture, is instruction in scientific agriculture by varied means: by farmers' institutes, held for a day or so, with lectures and a conference; by farmers' improvement societies; by lectures on special topics; but beyond and far more important than all, by the establishment by the State of elementary instruction in agriculture in the country schools, of manual and domestic training in the cities and large towns, and by the training of women in handicrafts and agricultural economy, by which training habits of industry, thrift, and observation, which are the basis of intelligence and thought, can be acquired.

Professor Huxley, in answer to some queries of Mr. J. Harrison, who had read a paper upon technical education as applied to agriculture, said: "There are some general principles that apply to all general training. The first is that practice is to be learned only by practice. The farmer is to be made *by* and *through* farm work. The second is that school boys and girls should be led from the observation of the commonest facts to general scientific truths.

"I should not attempt chemistry or botany or physiology or geology as such. It is a matter fraught with the danger of spending too much time and attention on words and notions instead of things" (Huxley's "Life and Letters," vol. ii, p. 301). The advantage of such instruction, practically applied, would be speedily shown in the increased taxable value of the lands, due to increased production. For the Negro the abolition of a condition of practical serfdom, the development of family life, the prevention or retardation of the exodus from the country to the cities, and the greatly increased prosperity of the individual, the community, and the State, as the ratio of economic production and efficiency is parallel to that of education."

It is stated that the average yield of wheat per acre in the United States is a little less than thirteen bushels, and of Indian corn a little less than twenty-seven bushels, and that the study of the soils, their treatment and adaptation to varied cultures, has led to the production of not less than forty bushels of wheat per acre upon land which had previously yielded but ten, and that the yield of corn had been increased from thirty to more than eighty bushels per acre.

As an illustration of what can be done with the exhausted soils of abandoned Rhode Island farms by a study of the soil,

and scientific culture, including drainage and rotation of crops, the agricultural experiment station of the Rhode Island College has produced 115 bushels of potatoes per acre by the first course of rotation and 319 bushels by the second course of rotation upon the same lot of land.

The yield of shelled corn has been increased in one instance from seven bushels per acre to eighty-nine bushels.

In other sections the hay crop has been increased from one-half to two tons per acre.

Proper instruction of the Negro farmer would lead to the abandonment of expensive artificial fertilizers, which at the moment are the *bête noire* of the small cultivator, and the substitution of natural fertilizers, and to the return to the exhausted fields of the South the elements so long improperly removed; to the substitution of grains and other crops for cotton, and, where that staple is required, a greater production per acre; to the same careful and judicious business management that is needful in all other business enterprises; to the organization of coöperative agricultural societies for the production and distribution of crops, the purchase of supplies, and the saving and loaning of money. Under varied and intensive culture the profitable products of the land can be so increased as gradually and practically to dispose of the disastrous mortgage custom.

To accomplish these educational reforms, the secondary schools maintained for the Negro at the expense of the whites can be easily abandoned; as for those who can afford the requisite time, they are superseded by the agricultural and industrial institutes and mechanical colleges, and by schools for manual and domestic training, which should be opened wherever practicable.

The Negro in his present developmental status and economic condition has no opportunity for the higher intellectual studies, even if he desired it. The individual exceptions to this condition are rare, and when they occur the college course in the South or North is open to them. The trifling demand for secondary education is indicated by the fact that of the three millions of the colored school population in the two southern divisions, but a fraction over 1 per cent. are receiving secondary instruction.

Of the entire population, black and white, of thirteen millions

in the south central division, consisting of the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, but about 3 per cent. are receiving secondary education, and the average number of days of public schooling for life that each individual of these two southern divisions is able to receive is less than six hundred.

If this is the educational status of the whole population, it is evident that the Negro, until he has by industry and thrift secured his training and opportunity and created the desire, has little need of secondary schools, and that the money spent for their maintenance can be more profitably and advantageously used in the development of elementary instruction in town and country.

We fail to find in the country at large an enthusiastic demand for public secondary education. In a large center of population like New York city we are told that 90 per cent. of the children leave school before they are fifteen years of age, and, it is added, that a large part of the remaining 10 per cent. are not worth extra educating, but get it because their parents can afford it (Coler, comptroller of New York).

As the Negro's education, moral and intellectual, is a public necessity, its cost should be borne by the State and made compulsory upon elementary lines, moral and religious training being placed above the intellectual, which, if alone cared for, will, as Professor Huxley maintained, "only turn the gutter child into the subtlest of all the beasts of the field." For children, wherever practicable, kindergarten training for the Negro is of great moral value.

It has been wisely remarked that the pursuit of wealth is, after all, a great stimulant, and one of the first things to teach primitive people. If the Southern States in 1877 had acquired wisdom by their unfortunate experience, had the courage of their convictions as to his absolute disqualification for citizenship, had shown less indifference to his welfare, had turned a deaf ear to the fastidious sentiment at the time prevalent in the North, and which was based on ignorance of the mental status of the crude Negro, had adopted a rational system of education and insisted upon it, his moral, economic, and political condition would not now be a cause of anxiety to either race. Their lands would now be more valuable, the products much greater and more diversi-

fied; their court, prison, and criminal expenses much less; their elections purer; their educational expenses much diminished; the public safety much greater; the political conditions more equitable; the necessity for a limitation of the franchise obviated, and the depressing, retroactive, degenerative effect upon the white working class of the Negroes' low standard of living and of morals much mitigated.

The influence of the preponderance of an undisciplined and emotional class upon statistical crime is shown by the statistics of murders and homicides gathered by the Chicago *Times-Herald* during the last decade, giving the average number of these crimes committed during that period in each State of the Union.

Assuming these figures to be approximately correct, I find upon the basis of their populations in 1900, in the nine Southern States, where this class is most numerous—namely, Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina—an average of one murder or homicide to each 4,657 of their populations. In nine Northern States, where this class is less numerous and less dominant—namely, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Illinois, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Ohio—one murder or homicide to each 26,000 of their populations. These ratios are considerably smaller than if properly based upon the mean of the populations for the decade.

The average number of murders and homicides committed annually in all the States of the Union is said to be a fraction less than ten thousand. The ratio by States is as follows: North Carolina, 1 in 6,644; South Carolina, 1 in 6,064; Georgia, 1 in 5,817; Mississippi, 1 in 4,893; Arkansas, 1 in 4,300; Alabama, 1 in 4,000; Louisiana, 1 in 3,859; Florida, 1 in 3,336; Texas, 1 in 3,000; Vermont, 1 in 57,273; New Hampshire, 1 in 45,732; Maine, 1 in 38,581; Massachusetts, 1 in 29,222; Illinois, 1 in 15,306; New York, 1 in 14,195; Connecticut, 1 in 12,444; Ohio, 1 in 12,522; Rhode Island, 1 in 8,241. The latter State has a large foreign population.

Statistics of crime have to be taken *cum grano salis*. Our observation is frequently more correct than serried columns of figures. That observation points to a remarkable decline in Negro morality in the past few decades—a decline which is to be accounted for in part by the very feeble relation of our systems of public

education to public morality, especially where the home influence is wholly absent or wholly bad.

The Negro's industrial field is prominently and almost exclusively agriculture. Of steady application and concentration of attention such as machinery requires, he has proven himself incapable in his present developmental status. He inherits no love of work for work's sake. He is deficient in technic capacity; and time, and time only, in well and philosophically directed effort, can remedy these defects.

Of Negro labor in the South, Charles B. Spahr, the special correspondent of the *Outlook* of New York, reports under date May 6, 1899: "Under ordinary employers the great mass of Negroes work inefficiently when not under close supervision and even goading. Their irresponsibility, their inability to manage for themselves, and the disposition to relax effort when external pressure is removed are manifest. Again and again I was told that machinery does not pay with Negro labor. In the furnaces at Birmingham, where the Negro outnumbered the white ten to one, all the foremen I saw were whites." The reason given by the superintendent for this preference was not merely the greater ability of the whites to take the responsibility of management, but the unwillingness of the Negro to be "bossed" by his own race.

There is a general ignorance or misapprehension of the feeble extent to which industrial training in farm and garden work has been carried among the Negroes. In the last report of the Bureau of Education I find in the Southern States, the District of Columbia, and five Northern States, in the schools for the professional and industrial training of the colored race, 14,000 studying industrial branches. Of these but 9½ per cent. were in farm and garden work, and but 156 more students in agriculture than in theology, law, and medicine combined. In Tuskegee but 12½ per cent. of those receiving industrial training were in farm or garden work; in the Hampton Institute, but 12.13 per cent.; in the whole State of Alabama, about 12 per cent.; of 2,017 students in Georgia, but 22 students of farm and garden work; in North Carolina, in 1,725, but 128; in South Carolina, in 1,649, but 93; in Missouri, in 208, none; in Texas, in 866, 12. The Negro has a decided preference for professional work to farming.

In this particular he indicates his status and the trend of de-

velopment in all primitive races that have reached the working stage—which is toward the imaginary haven of rest from all work—and illustrates the frequent result of overtraining on the intellectual side—the dislike of manual labor—a result not at all peculiar to the Negro.

In Georgia more were studying theology than farm or garden work. In the early days of the Hampton Institute 90 per cent. of our graduates were teachers in the public schools; now (1900) about 60 per cent. of our graduates are teaching (thirty-second annual report), which, I think, is about the proportion of teaching graduates of the other schools.

The introduction of elementary instruction in agriculture into the common schools would increase the number of students of agriculture in the institutes, and utilize those already trained, whose knowledge is at present of no benefit to the public.

The Atlanta University (colored) has recently made a study of the college-bred Negro. It reports the number of Negro graduates from the year 1826 to 1865 as 35; 1865 to 1877, 215; 1877 to 1899, 1,899. Of those reporting their present occupation, "Over half are teachers, a sixth are preachers, another sixth are physicians, students, and lawyers, 6 per cent. are farmers, artisans, and merchants, and 4 per cent. are in the Government service."

Two important conclusions of the study are that the great mass of the Negroes need common school and manual training, and that there is a large and growing demand for industrial and technical training and for trade schools.

The Negro, North as well as South, is unquestionably at the moment a sufferer from racial antipathy—an antipathy less pronounced in the South than in the North. Racial antagonism is, however, among white races especially, accentuated by color and social conditions. It is virulent in the wilds of Africa, in the jungles of India, in the mountains of Tibet, and in the highly civilized communities of Europe and America.

As far as the Negro of America is involved, it is more bitter in Boston and New England, which during the last century acquired and professed a sentimental regard for him, and in the Western States than in the South. The constitution of Oregon excludes Negroes and mulattoes, and prohibits their residence, the holding of real estate, the making of contracts, or the maintenance of any suit at law. The whites as a race want no Negroes

or colored men as neighbors, or club members, or church members, or guests at public hotels, or fellow-workmen, or as government officials, or attendants at places of public amusement.

The legislature of Tennessee prohibits the employment of white teachers in Negro public schools. It would be much more reasonable and beneficial to offer the whites a premium for teaching in such schools. The *Christian Recorder*, one of the leading and most conservative Negro journals in this country, remarks that "the lines of separation are more distinctly drawn in church, school, and in social intercourse than they were in the days of slavery."

In the capital city of Kansas, "a pivotal point in the contest of slavery and freedom," there is said to be "a manifest growth of color prejudice;" and in the State where John Brown lived and fought for the liberation of the Negro, he is told his place and expected to keep it. In this hostility, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois follow Kansas, New York, Pennsylvania, and New England.

The Negroes of Georgia and of Massachusetts, met in convention, agree in protesting against their treatment by the party in power. The Negroes and colored men of New England, gathered in convention in Boston, complain of unjust discrimination by political parties, by merchants, by manufacturers, by benevolent associations, and landlords, no distinction being made as to color, intelligence, character, deportment, or means. In short, Massachusetts opens her schools but shuts her shops, which are open to them in the South.

Unfortunately, this antagonism is not confined to the whites. In the West Indies, where the Negro has governmental control, it is a proverb that "the white has no rights the Negro is bound to respect." In Liberia, the refuge of the oppressed American Negro, none but persons of color are admitted to citizenship, no one can vote unless an owner of real estate, and no citizen can purchase land of the natives, and taxation without representation is a condition.

In addition to racial antagonism we find inter-racial discrimination. In the West Indies, upon the various islands where the Negro abounds, the discrimination between the Negro and the mulatto is insisted upon by the former. Spencer St. John regarded it as "a most disastrous circumstance." In Haiti the

mulatto is said "to hate his father and despise his mother"—a hatred that has been the potent and frequent cause of political and social disturbances.

The San Domingo government is described as a mulatto government, and the Haitien as a negro. In Liberia, peopled by the refugees from the demon of race discrimination, we find it again established in force within their own lines. The Bushman is not recognized.

In our own country, where the pressure from the dominant race tends to solidify the two opposing elements, it has a more or less active influence, depending upon social and political conditions. "The feeling in the United States between the blacks and all shades up to whites," says Thomas Fortune, "has always existed, even in the days of slavery. Thoughtful men have watched this manifestation, with more or less apprehension, as being the most dangerous element that could possibly be injected into the already complex problem." The amelioration of these mutual antipathies is a phase of the problem which presses itself upon the attention and stimulates the effort of all educators and sociologists. A great factor in its solution will be found in the accumulation of wealth by industry and in the prevalence of the industrial spirit.

The franchise among civilized nations is not a natural and inalienable right. It is a privilege which should be granted only to persons properly qualified to exercise it. The Puritans maintained the right of exclusion, and that no man had a right to come to them without their consent. The Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Haven colonies granted the franchise to none but members of some one of the churches. This was as much a political as a sectarian regulation, and its intention was to guard the liberties of the infant Commonwealth. Massachusetts and other Northern States now require an educational qualification. Rhode Island, in addition, requires a property qualification in municipal elections.

The territorial legislature of Oklahoma, three years since, disfranchised the Negro. The ignorant voter, white or black, is a perpetual menace to law, order, and the rights of property, and pure elections, public morality, and public honesty are subservient to his rule or ruin. As a result, the respectable candidate for public office is compelled to submit to defeat or pur-

chase victory with the sacrifice of principle. It is sufficiently manifest that we have here to deal with conditions and not with theories, and North, South, East, and West practically agree in the conviction that ignorant suffrage is a failure and a curse. We have to deal with racial antagonism and ignorance, and no one will dispute their existence nor the possibility of modifying their influence by education.

The Negro, the poor white, and the foreign-born citizen, just entering a new birth in a strange land, are equally unqualified by the standard of our civilization to exercise political control. Upon these classes privileges have been bestowed which they have proven themselves unqualified to enjoy, and until qualified the privilege should be suspended. Equality is only possible in the abstract. In the concrete it is not only non-existent, but impracticable. The impartial interdiction of the franchise is not an irreparable loss or misfortune to any class. On the contrary, it is not only stimulating to the individual, but a conservator of moral purity in the individual and in the community. Its partial racial interdiction is, however, not only a gross injustice, but a subversion of equality under the law. This, with the proposition to compel the Negro to support his own schools, will, if carried out, surely return to torment the inventors in increased crime and taxation. "It is as much of a mistake," said Lord Bolingbroke, "to depend upon that which is true but impracticable at a certain time as to depend on that which is neither true nor practical at any time."

That ignorant suffrage, black or white, is dangerous, revolutionary, and impracticable in a free government is self-evident. The mass of the Negro farming population knows nothing of national politics, or of distinctive party measures, or of local or State interests, and has no interest in them. Of Abraham Lincoln, who gave them their freedom, the older ones possibly have heard, but of the name of the chief magistrate of the nation or State they are ignorant.

The present Mississippi constitution provides "that every elector shall be able to read any section of the constitution, or shall be able to understand the same when read to him or give a reasonable interpretation thereof." The decision of the Supreme Court affirming the validity of this clause declares that a State can limit the exercise of suffrage, although the restric-

tions imposed may apply to one race only. It is not a discrimination against a race, but against its ignorance. It is not a deprivation, but a suspension, of a privilege. To this suspension neither the honest, unlettered citizen who has in mind the welfare of the community and the preservation of his property, nor the honest politician, nor the philanthropist, who has the best interest of his ward at heart, can reasonably object, and the Negro, of all contemporaneous races, would seem to have the least historical ground for complaint of any restriction of the franchise.

When the American Negro had established or acquired the control of a government under a constitutional form in Liberia, he deprived the white man of citizenship. Haiti, where, after a century of revolutions, there remains "but a semblance of civilized government," "until recently also restricted citizenship and the right to possess property to the Negro" (Hill).

"Among the Teutonic Batavians, the Germanic inhabitants of Holland, the primitive government was popular, suffrage was universal, and the sovereignty resided in a kind of national convention. The power of the chief did not exceed that of the citizen, and his authority was subject to the latter's control" (Pratt).

The Dutch Republic of 1581, the inheritor of these principles, was the political expression of the Netherlanders' devotion to civil and religious liberty, and of their bravery in defense of it; and yet, strange to relate, under this new departure, with great apparent inconsistency, there was no popular representation. The States-general was supreme, and the citizen, the most intelligent and cultivated of his class in existence at that period, was not individually recognized. Because of this intelligent and patriotic citizenship, its extraordinary devotion to the public welfare and forgetfulners of *self*, the commonwealth continued to exist as a great and flourishing republic during more than two centuries. Instead of *popular* rights there were for the large cities with extensive districts *State* rights. The villages under their government were rather petty States than principalities. The Guild voted in the broad council of the city as one person. The city voted in the estates as one person. It was a *privilege*, not a *right*, to participate in the acting government. The people, the citizen, in theory did not exist. They had not been in-

vented; but with a freedom-loving people the republic was possible, says Motley, "exactly because the people were intelligent and energetic" ("United Netherlands," vol. IV, p. 566).

The Negro citizen, excepting in theory, has not yet been invented. He has yet to qualify himself for the franchise and for citizenship. In the meantime his duty is to patiently submit to the guidance and government of those superior in intelligence, who are in power and authority. The exercise of the franchise is not necessary to his happiness or economic independence until he has sufficient intelligence to appreciate its responsibilities and its obligations, and is able to understand that "true liberty dwells only in servitude to law, which is the function of reason."

Enthusiastic optimists, ignorant of the feeble extent to which industrial education has been applied in the South, declare the Negro problem to be solved. As Mr. Curry remarked to the Georgia legislature not long ago, "The man who thinks the Negro problem settled is either a fanatic or a fool." It is not solved, but, when the masses, beginning with industrial training in the elementary school, have acquired habits of morality, industry, thrift, economy, and self-control, powerful factors in its solution will be developed. Upon these heights his eyes will be opened, and the great truths will be revealed that upon himself alone the ultimate solution of his economic and social problems depends; that his emancipation from a condition of practical serfdom—present and prospective—must be the result of his own effort; that a system of education, to be of service to him, must honestly, practically, and philosophically recognize the difference in the present development of the two races, and that the highest intellectual development and social organism are correlative with the widest and longest culture.

The pleasing aphorism that all men are born free and equal, and the statement that all material progress depends upon social equality, are generally accepted because so flattering to our pride and dignity, but equality is found nowhere in nature, in mind, in person, in the animal or vegetable kingdom; neither does an equality of opportunity ever produce an equality in results. Unfortunately, therefore, wherever these fallacies may be entertained, they are not realized in human experience, and they remain in the realms of imagination and of abstract ideas. Hard experience proves to us the great inequality in heredity

and in physical and mental ability. In a theoretic sense we are "born free and equal." We do not remain so because of this inequality in opportunity, in natural ability, and in heredity. That there is no absolute economic equality is also very obvious, for, as observed by Mr. Mallock, the "vast majority of the community have necessarily to give their lives to the performance of manual tasks." It is also evident that there is no absolute relation between the ability and desire and the opportunity to work, and that perfect political, social, and economic equality would not only destroy all progress in civilization, but soon destroy that we have already attained.

In conclusion, to apply the wisdom of Miss Kingsley to our relations with the American Negro, "there must be administrative and sympathetic coöperation between us, the ruling race must seek to understand the other, make allowances for its weaknesses, recognize its strength, its potentiality for good and evil, and treat it justly."

GEORGE R. STETSON.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN LIBERIA.

The French *Moniteur Officiel du Commerce* of the 27th ult. publishes an extract from the Bulletin of the French African Committee on Trade and Industry in Liberia, on which the following article is based:

The presence in Liberia of a considerable number of people who live after a European fashion is sufficient to account for certain features in the trade, and especially the import trade, of the country, which are wanting in most West African Colonies, except, perhaps, Senegal and Sierra Leone. The Liberians have, in fact, in some cases developed requirements and tastes similar to those of Europeans—at least as regards houses, furniture, and articles of dress—and all these tastes and requirements necessitate a considerable importation, which might be profitable in foreign traders if there were any corresponding export trade and the financial position could be improved. At one time the Liberian would simply pay in so many bags of coffee for any article (clocks, bronzes, carpets, chairs, or even harmoniums) which took his fancy. Now, however, coffee can be bought at

Monrovia for about 1½d. per pound, and the Liberian planters cannot so easily purchase any "*article de luxe*" they may desire.

Another reason besides the fall in coffee is also given for the decline of European trade, and that is the system of "ports of entry." Foreigners (by which "white" men are meant) can only trade at the so-called "ports of entry," viz., Robertsport (Grand Cape Mount), Monrovia, Marshall (Junk River), Edina, Buchanan (Grand Bassa), River Cess (Rio Sestos), Greenville (Sinoe), Settra Kroo, Harper (Cape Palmas), and Half Cavalla (Cavally).

This regulation was made by the Liberian Government with the object of fostering national trade, by granting to Liberians alone the right of establishing factories in the interior of the country, and so placing the native products on the market. This result, however, has not been attained, on account of the carelessness of Liberians, who have almost completely neglected this method of trade. On the other hand, the Europeans, who are compelled to limit their sphere of action to certain points on the coast, have gradually seen their business lessen in importance. The insecurity of the trade routes, the hostilities between the various tribes, and between Liberians and natives have had the effect of decreasing to a minimum the number of caravans coming to the ports of entry from the interior, which thus remains virtually closed to foreign trade. The result is that European commerce has lost and Liberian commerce has not gained by this prohibitive system. A French trading company ("La Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Occidentale") had at one time an important station at Grand Bassa, where it did a considerable trade by sending its agents up the river to the interior with foreign goods, which were exchanged for native produce. Since the establishment of the prohibitive system it has seen its trade decrease to such an extent that it has given up business and sold the place to a German firm.

Another law, which forbids foreigners—*i. e.*, white people—from owning lands, acts also very unfavorably on foreign trade. European firms who have establishments in Liberia cannot own land on which to make agricultural experiments, nor even the ground on which their factories are built. The land is let on long leases, it is true, with option of renewal, but a general sense of insecurity is the result of the system, for the owner of the

land can always refuse an extension of lease, and the government can also, under some pretext of public utility, buy the land and expel the tenant.

The imports into Liberia may be divided into three groups of articles, viz., those solely for the use of the civilized inhabitants, those used both by Liberians and natives, and those imported exclusively for natives. In the first category ready-made clothes, shoes, felt and straw hats, corsets, cravats, shirts, hosiery, etc., hold the largest place. Among other articles of import are lamps, clocks, watches, sewing machines, musical instruments (harmoniums, accordions, musical boxes), and even photographs. The imports of furniture and household utensils are much less than the imports of these articles a few years ago. In the second category are included preserves and alimentary products—bacon, ham, rice, flour, cod, salted fish, preserved provisions, preserved fruits, biscuits, leaf tobacco; gunpowder, guns of all sorts, "machetes," and other kinds of knives and swords; wax candles, petroleum, matches; gin, rum, ginger ale, cheap champagnes, sweet wine; soap, washing blue, potash; umbrellas and parasols, hoes, spades, and pickaxes; buckets, enameled iron plates, cast-iron plates, copper plates, and crockery, etc.

The articles imported for the use of the natives are the same as those imported along the adjacent coast: cotton cloths, white and colored; silk handkerchiefs, velvet caps, rugs, coral, cornelian and glass pearls, knives, iron trunks, etc.

Germany sends most of the piece-goods and manufactured articles, furniture, glassware, gin, wines, hardware, earthenware, and a part of the alimentary products. England holds the second place with manufactured goods, watches, medicines, bacon, rice, flour, fish, preserved fruits, arms and powder, petroleum, and ginger ale, but it must be noted that a large proportion of the imports from England are of American origin, notably medicines, rice, flour, preserved fruits, leaf tobacco, petroleum. Holland sends gin, tobacco, gunpowder, lamps, etc. France sends only a small quantity of wine, manufactured articles, and silk goods, other articles of French origin being imported from Germany. Matches are imported from Holland, Sweden, and Japan.

The principal export, as regards quantity, is Liberian coffee, chiefly from the district of Montserrado, but also from Cape

Palmas, Grand Bassa, and Sinoe. Fifteen years ago coffee was sold in the factories at 20 cents (10d.) per pound; it now has fallen to 3 cents (1½d.) in money or 4 cents (2d.) in goods, and sometimes not even this price is obtained. The coffee is sent chiefly to Liverpool, and in smaller quantities to Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Antwerp.

Caoutchouc, from the "bind-weed" and various trees found on the west coast, has a tendency to take first place in the exports, although it has only been exploited for a few years. Caoutchouc is found in all the districts of Liberia, but more particularly those of Cape Mount, Marshall, and Sinoe. The factories pay a variable price, which last year was maintained at about 1 fc. 25 c. (1s. ½d.) per pound, paid sometimes in cash and sometimes in goods.

An English firm, the "Liberian Rubber Syndicate," has the monopoly of the export of caoutchouc, buying it either directly from the natives or from other firms, the latter thus being obliged to pay the producers a lower price than that fixed by the syndicate, in order to make a profit. This monopoly, although vigorously opposed by the Dutch and the Germans, was prolonged last year.

Raphia during the last few years has become an important article of export. It is found on all the Liberian coast and exported to Germany, England, and Holland. The defects of this product are the difficulty of drying it in the rainy season, the ease with which it is destroyed by fire or is deteriorated by damp, and also the considerable space it occupies on board ship compared with its weight and value. Liberian raphia is regarded as inferior to that produced in the western part of the French Ivory Coast. It is used for making brooms, brushes, and binding for gardeners.

Palm oil and palm seeds, which have been exported from Liberia for many years, still form two important articles of export. Although they give only a small profit, it is practically constant. The export of ivory is insignificant, although there are elephants in the north of the country. A little mahogany is exported from Little Cape Mount, Grand Cape Mount, and other points on the coast, but this product has up to the present been little exploited. Hulled rice from Cavally is exported in small quantities through Sierra Leone.

Although Liberia no longer exports slaves, yet it exports a large number of "free workers." The name and the social condition, as well as the place of destination, have been changed, but the reason for the exportation remains the same, viz., the need of cheap manual labor in the new colonies and principally in agricultural colonies.

The Congo Free State and the Cameroons are the two countries which make the greatest demand on Liberia for manual labor, but the natives also emigrate in large numbers to San Thome, Fernando Po, Portuguese Congo, French Congo, Togo, and sometimes to the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast. They have even been taken to Panama for the canal works, to Venezuela, and to the Cape of Good Hope.

The internal trade of the country is maintained by European and Liberian firms, the latter being very numerous but generally of little importance. Factories are established along the shore and on the banks of the lago, or the river, of each of the coast towns, while in the towns themselves, as well as in some Liberian establishments in the interior, are shops—miserable booths kept by Liberians or natives—where the retail trade is carried on.

The caravans which supply the factories are very few in number. Indeed, it may be said that the only natives who bring products and buy goods are those from the very small region where Liberian influence makes itself felt—that is to say, along the cost, the shores of the lagoons and the lower courses of the rivers.

The natives generally exchange their products for the articles imported. The exchange, however, is often only indirect—that is to say, the native takes money in payment for his caoutchouc, raphia, etc., and then exchanges it for piece goods, tobacco, sweet wines, etc. This is the method employed by the Liberian producers or intermediate agents with the factories.

There are a number of different kinds of coins used in Liberia, but their value is small. There is no native money such as exists in the Soudan, where purchases are paid for with shells (cowries), or on the eastern part of the Ivory Coast, where gold dust is used. Cowries are known only in the extreme north of Liberia, among the Maniankas and the Tomas. Gold dust is very rare, and is imported only in very small quantities by caravans coming from Mahou or from Kourodougou.

In the European centers a little English gold is met with, and in still smaller quantities German, French, and Dutch gold. English gold is preferred by the Liberians, because they do not know, as a rule, the value of the gold coins of other countries.

The silver money found in the Liberian market is varied if not very numerous. The coins most often seen are Liberian, American, and English. Copper coins are principally Liberian and American. They are very widely diffused, and sometimes very large sums are paid entirely in copper.

Although gold is rare and silver rather scarce, a quantity of paper money is circulated in Liberia in the form of bank notes issued by the Liberian Government, checks drawn on the Treasury or on commercial houses, various notes emanating from superintendents of districts or directors of Protestant missions, etc. As a rule, these papers, crumpled and dirty, covered with signatures and erasures, have no value and can only serve to enrich the collections of amateur curiosity collectors.

The number of Liberians who pay their debts and to whom credit can safely be given is said to be limited. European merchants prefer to give credit to the natives rather than to the Liberians, and they claim that they have good reasons for doing so.

The number of vessels which go to Liberia is relatively considerable, consisting of German, English, Belgian, and Spanish boats. Vessels under the French flag rarely frequent Liberian waters. The "Chargeurs-Renuis" Company in 1897 made a very feeble effort—so feeble, indeed, that it was abandoned before it was known if it would yield any satisfactory results.

It is said that the new service of the "Fraissinet" Company will provide a monthly steamship which will touch at Monrovia both on the outward and homeward voyages.

It is evident that so long as there are no French houses established in Liberia, French steamships will not trouble to enter into competition with German and English boats, especially as freight rates on these latter are much less than on French boats.—*West Africa.*

WHAT KNOWLEDGE IS OF MOST WORTH TO THE NEGRO AT THE PRESENT TIME.

To be able to treat wisely the educational needs of any particular class implies a wide knowledge of pedagogical principles. A good definition first identifies the object to be defined with the class to which it belongs before pointing out its distinguishing characteristics. The Negro is a man, and is responsive to all that appertains to humanity. Knowledge and virtue have no ethnic quality. The multiplication table and the Ten Commandments do not accommodate themselves to racial peculiarities. The mind of the Negro is very much like that of the white man in its faculties, powers and susceptibilites, and conforms to the same formative influences and laws of growth. That knowledge is of most worth to any people which is best adapted to the existing state of their needs.

The dual function of education is to enable the recipient to make a living and to make a life. Its sphere is not confined to the hard utilitarian necessities of existence, but embraces also the higher needs of our nature. The Negro stands sorely in need of industrial knowledge and higher culture. Ninty-nine per cent. of the race must engage in some form of manual labor for all time which we have the data to calculate. In all of his industrial apprenticeship, he has not learned the nice adaptation of means to end and of effort to task. Although a larger per cent. of Negroes are engaged in gainful pursuits than of any other element of our population, this labor falls far short of the degree of skill and efficiency demanded by the industrial rivalry of the age. How can this crude, slovenly, wasteful labor be made intelligent and economic, and edifying instead of degrading to him who performs it, is the great question of industrial education. This is the demand of the masses, the urgent need of the ninety and nine. But while providing for the lowest common multiple, let us not overlook the highest common factor. I keep within hailing distance of him who runs fastest in the direction of industrial training, without abating one whit my zeal for the higher education. Although these subjects are usually approached in the spirit of controversy, to my mind there is not the slightest conflict of interest. They operate as

co-efficient and exponent, each giving value and power to the expression to which they are attached. The controversialists are unfortunate in their one-sided advocacy; they lack binocular vision.

As others will doubtless deal more fully with the industrial phase of the question, I must limit myself on this occasion to the claims of the higher education of the Negro upon private philanthropy. The philanthropist is supremely indifferent as to whether an individual should study Kant or quaternions, except in so far as his mental cultivation reacts upon the communal welfare. Is the higher education of the capable few of sufficient advantage to the race at large to justify its continuance by a wise and discriminating philanthropy as a fixed policy?

The higher education of the colored race was undertaken largely for experimental and speculative reasons. It was affirmed with dogmatic reiteration that the Negro was incapable of mastering the rudiments of knowledge, to say nothing of the higher reaches of European learning. When the missionaries from the North discovered that the race possessed the ordinary faculties of the human species, their enthusiasm knew no bound. Universities were established for a people who up to that time had not learned the use of letters. The educated Negro was exhibited as a spectacular curiosity and regarded with wonderment as a trained animal in a museum. A whole race was expected to leap at one bound the gulf which separates crudeness from culture, corruption from character, and savagery from civilization. From a purely intellectual standpoint the experiment proved successful. The Negro has shown beyond a doubt that he possesses the requisite acquisitive ability to master the curricula which had been set for the choice youth of the Aryan race. Indeed, no competent authority has yet pointed out where the two differ in any characteristic feature. Those who are still doubtful as to the Negro's intellectual ability show themselves to be objects of pity because of their incapacity to grasp the truth. We cannot overestimate the value of this experiment. Up to this time every authority upon the question had based his theory upon the inferiority of the Negro. All manner of proscription and cruel treatment were justified on this ground. The Negro has had to prove his claim to

humanity at every point. It was argued that civilization was a physical and not a psychical process, and that the black man was externally excluded therefrom as a part of the cosmic order of things. His facial index, cephalic configuration, and pigmentation of the cuticle placed the possibility of his civilization beyond dispute. But if the mind is the measure of the man, then the Negro has proven his claim to the privileges and prerogatives of his kind. Philanthropy has received its highest reward in vindicating the manhood of a race.

Although it is generally conceded that the Negro has acquisitive ability, it is now contended that he lacks the assimilative power to turn it to practical account. No sooner is one theoretical stronghold taken by the onward march of the Negro than the enemy withdraws to another range of speculative intrenchments. We are now hearing the cry of the inferiority of race rung with as much aggressiveness and hostile intent as in the days when the justification of slavery was made to rest upon it.

The question of the relative capacity of the races is one of speculative rather than of practical import. Their planes of development and social status are so far asunder that there is no just basis of comparison. A subject race which is suppressed below the surface of privilege and opportunity may not be expected to produce names rivaling those presented by the race or nation who, for the time being, possesses the kingdom, the power, and the glory. The Greeks were, by general consent, the most intellectual people that ever lived, and yet the race which, in the days of its power, produced Homer and Plato and Phidias, so far degenerated under the loss of national prestige, that, to use the language of Macaulay, "her people have become timid slaves and her language a barbarous jargon." Could there possibly arise a Shakespeare among savages or a Bacon among Bushmen? The Negro is frequently upbraided because his race has not contributed illustrious names to the galaxy of the world's greatness. When, a hundred years ago, the charge was made that "America had not yet produced one good poet, one able mathematician, one man of genius in a single art or science," the illustrious Thomas Jefferson entered an eloquent extenuating plea: "When we shall have existed as a nation as long as the Greeks did before they produced Homer, the

Romans a Virgil, the French Racine, the English a Shakespeare and Milton, should this reproach be still true we will inquire from what unfriendly cause it has proceeded." The Negro can shield himself from the reproach of his critics under the plea of Jefferson, but the race is not without intellectual exuberance. His intellectual faculties have not been wholly smothered, even by the repression to which he has been subjected. The literary taste of Phyllis Wheatley, the scientific acumen of Benjamin Banneker, the persuasive speech of Frederick Douglass, the poetic talent of Paul Lawrence Dunbar compare favorably with those of their contemporaries in the same field of effort. There are four hundred patents in the U. S. Patent Office devised by the Negro's inventive talent. Fourteen hundred books and pamphlets have been written by members of the race. These publications may be, for the most part, commonplace or indifferent, possessing little literary or scholarly merit, but a people which has the ambition to make poor books will soon gain the ability to write good ones. These things may seem insignificant and mean when compared with the colossal products of Aryan genius, but they show that the Negro, even in a state of repression, is responsive to the higher influence of thought and culture. Any movement looking to the curtailment of his opportunities in this direction would have a blighting effect upon the general progress of the race.

The Negro is to be grafted upon the tree of civilization. In order that the graft may take well it should be set upon the most vigorous and healthy limb of the tree. He stands upon the stormy banks of civilization and casts a wistful eye to the fairer land beyond. The choice youth of the race should receive and assimilate the principles of culture and hand them down to the masses below. This is the only gateway through which a backward people can enter into civilization. Herein lies the history of culture. The select minds of the backward race first receive the new cult and adapt it to the peculiar needs of their own people. The Hebrews received their impulse for secular culture through Moses, who was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Did not the wise men of Greece receive their light from the Orient? The Roman youth of ambition completed their education at Athens. The noblemen of northern Europe sent their sons to the southern peninsulas in

quest of larger learning; and even up to the present time, American youth repair to the European universities for a fuller knowledge of the culture of the Old World. Japan is now looming up as the most progressive of the non-Aryan races. This wonderful progress is due, in large measure, to their wise plan of procedure. They send their picked youth to the great centers of Western learning, but before this culture is applied to their own needs it is first sifted through the sieve of their native comprehension.

That mere contact with a superior development cannot of itself unfold the best possbilities of a backward people is a proposition which, I think, no student of social phenomena will be inclined to doubt. For four hundred years the Europeans have been brought in contact with feebler races in all parts of the globe, and in most instances this contact has been as the blighting finger of death. Nowhere do we find a single instance in which a people has been lifted into civilization thereby. Civilization is a centrifugal as well as a centripetal process. The inner springs of motive and action must vibrate in sympathetic resonance with the waves of influence which proceed from without. The products of our schools and colleges are forming centers of influence in all parts of the land, and we confidently believe that these grains of leaven will ultimately leaven the whole mass. If this should fail, then the case is a hopeless one indeed. If this salt should lose its savor, wherewith shall it be salted?

The Negro is now reaching a critical stage in his career. The friendly points of attachment between the races are being lost. This relationship is daily becoming less intimate and friendly, and more businesslike and formal. The medium of the schools is the only agency now left through which can be transmitted high standards of excellence and noble modes of life.

The social life of the two races is as far asunder as if they were separated by barriers of oceans and seas. These separate spheres of influence touch at only two points—for purposes of business and from motives of philanthropy. Under this social policy certain lines of work demanding the most careful training and the highest skill fall to the lot of the colored race. The ignorant must be enlightened, the sick must be healed, and the poor must have the gospel preached to them. It requires no less

culture or knowledge of the psychological aspect of mind to instruct a child because he is black. The Negro physician meets with every variety of suffering and disease that human flesh is heir to. Should not the Negro minister know how to take the mysteries of the things of God and show them unto his simple-minded flock? How can any one be too learned or too profound in whose hands is intrusted the temporal and eternal destiny of a human soul?

The complaint that colored youth are leaving the farm and the shop to rush into the higher pursuits of learning is not founded upon accurate information. The fact is that not one Negro in three thousand is now pursuing the higher lines of instruction. The race could profitably absorb three times the number as physicians, ministers, and schoolmasters. It is true that the graduates of our schools and colleges have not as yet entered upon productive pursuits; they have followed the line of least resistance, and fitted into the places which they have found already prepared.

The college-bred men of New England, up to the middle of the present century, sought the ranks of the learned professions and political careers, but seldom entered upon practical pursuits.

When the educated Negro finds the prepared places all occupied, he too will be compelled to launch out into profitable industry and productive enterprise.

Another critic claims that the education of the Negro has had little or no effect upon the criminal and vicious tendencies of the race. Statistics show that throughout the nation at large education and crime have increased together. The Negro forms no exception to the rule. Our philanthropists have expected too much from education, especially when it is applied to the Negro. It is folly to suppose that the moral nature of the child is improved because it has been taught to read and write and cast up accounts. Tracing the letters of the alphabet with a pen has no bearing upon the Golden Rule. The spelling of words by sound and syllable does not lead to the observance of the Ten Commandments. Drill in the multiplication table does not fascinate the learner with the Sermon on the Mount. Rules in grammar, dates in history, sums in arithmetic, and points in geography do not necessarily strengthen the grasp upon moral truth. These things constitute the mere mechanics of knowl-

edge. It is only when the pupil begins to feel its vitalizing power that it begins to react upon the life and to fructify in character. While the criminal tendency of the race, so far as it can be tested by the statistician, shows an alarming tendency to increase, it is notable that the products of these schools with prolonged courses of study and continuous discipline have met every expectation from the standpoint of conduct and demeanor. We do not hear one word of criticism as to the behavior of the graduates of Howard, Fisk, Atlanta, Hampton, Shaw, or Wayland.

> "Shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
> But drinking largely sobers us again."

The Negro needs the influence of the higher culture to stimulate the dormant energies of the race. The surest way to incite a people to meet the material demands of life is to teach them that life is more than meat. When the workman is struggling toward an ideal, he can enter upon his vocation with enthusiasm and zest for his calling and feel the inciting influence of the joy of service.

The unimaginative laborer pursues the routine rounds of his task, spurred on only by the immediate necessities of life and the task-master's stern command. To him time and the hour run through the whole day. The Negro lacks enlightened imagination. He needs prospect and vista. He does not make provision because he lacks prevision. Under slavery he toiled as the ass, dependent upon the daily allowance from his master's crib. To him the prayer "Give us this day our daily bread" has a material rather than a spiritual meaning. If you would perpetuate the industrial incapacity of the Negro, then confine him to the low grounds of drudgery and toil and prevent him from casting his eyes unto the hills whence come inspiration and promise. "The man with the hoe" is of all men most miserable, unless he also has a hope. But the man with a hope is sustained by an ideal, and can consecrate the hoe as well as any other instrument of service as a means to fulfill the promise that is in him. When a seed is sown in the ground it first sends its roots into the soil before its blades can rise out of it, but is it not actuated by the plant consciousness to seek the light of heaven? The Pilgrim Fathers in following the inspiration of a

lofty ideal developed the resources of a continent. Every good and perfect gift comes from above. The mind agitates the masses. We cannot hope to reach the sky on a pedestal of brick and mortar; any attempt to do so must end in bewilderment and confusion of tongues. The builders of the Tower of Babel laid a solid and substantial foundation, because they were inspired by the lofty conceit that they had descended from the skies, and therefore they improvised this mechanical contrivance as a means to regain the blissful seat. It requires wide range of vision to stimulate the industrial activities of a people. The most effective prayer that can be uttered for the Negro is, "Lord, open thou his eyes." He cannot see beyond the momentary gratification of appetite and passion; he does not look before and after. Such influence can be brought to bear upon the race only through the inspirational effect of the higher culture.

Dr. Booker T. Washington is the greatest Negro which the race, under freedom, has produced. He is not only an educator but a statesman. But his success is due wholly to his intellectual and moral faculties. He possesses no mechanical trade; if so, he has not let the American people into the secret; and even if he were master of a dozen handicrafts it would not add one cubit to the stature of his usefulness or influence. He possesses an enlightened mind to discover the needs of the masses, persuasive ability to convince others of the correctness of his views, and executive faculty to put his plans in effective operation. He deals in the realm of pure reason. There is no higher living illustration of the necessity of wise, judicious, cultivated leadership as a means of stimulating the dormant activity of the masses than he who has made the name of Tuskegee immortal.

In all permanent and effective construction the architect must precede the artisan.

Those who disparage the higher education of the Negro because it has not yet done its perfect work are too impatient. If it takes twenty-five years to educate a white boy, how much longer must it take to educate a black race? Forty or fifty millions of dollars have already been spent by Northern philanthropy upon the education of the Negro, and the philanthropists are discouraged because knowledge has not banished ignorance, corruption has not put on incorruption, and want has not been

swallowed up in affluence. The city of New York alone spends that amount for educational purposes every three years; and yet, if we are to believe the reports of the low state of municipal morality and rumors of public corruption, we see that education has not yet done its perfect work in the great metropolis. Why then should we rave at the heart and froth at the mouth because a sum of money scarcely equal to a tithe of the educational expenditure of a single American city, though scattered over a territory of a million square miles, has not completely civilized a race of ten million souls? Truly those who reason thus must regard the Negro as a cheap man. Although private philanthropy has been princely in its munificence, and the Southern States have contributed up to the limit of their ability, yet neither Northern philanthropy nor Southern statesmanship has begun to realize the enormous cost of an adequate system of education. If anything, it requires more to educate a black boy than it does to educate a white one to the same degree of efficiency. The doctrine that the white people defray the expenses of the education of the Negro is one of the false notions of political economy which have done so much to blight the prosperity of the South. Labor pays every tax in the world; and although the laborer may not enjoy the privilege of passing the tribute to the taxtaker, he is entitled to share in all of its benefits and privileges. And, besides, youth are not educated because they are taxpayers, but in order that they may become so. If the education of the Negro has not worked out the fulfillment which its propounders prophesied, it simply proves them poor prophets. No reform ever fulfills the expectation of projectors. But, after all, it can be truly said that no equal sum of money, in the history of the world, has wrought greater advantage to the welfare of the human race than that expended upon the education of the freedmen of the South.

Senator Benjamin Tillman has recently declared that the Negro wears his education as a coat of paint, and if you scratch him you will find a savage beneath the surface. This expresses a prevalent belief. The distinguished Carolinian can claim originality only for the epithetic form of statement. Mr. Charles Dudley Warner has recently expressed the same idea under a different figure of speech. Is it not true that civilization at best is only a process of veneering? When we call into account the

wild fury which breaks through the outer crust of enlightenment of the white race in many sections of the country, venting itself in murder, lynching, and even in the burning and crucifixion of helpless victims, it will be clearly seen how near the surface the savage in them lies. Is it not preposterous to expect that a few years of schooling will do for the African that which twenty centuries of cultivation has not done for the Aryan? Even this admission on the part of the successor of Calhoun indicates a marked degree of progress in certain quarters. At one time it would have been strenuously denied that this crude material could take on a coat of paint. One of the chief uses of paint is to hide the crudities of the material to which it is applied. No one doubts the value of this function. If the white man is better able to hide the savage from view than the Negro, it is because he has undergone a deeper coating by reason of a longer process of treatment. The remedy, then, for the Negro is not less paint, but more.

I must conclude this paper by pointing out a few practical suggestions as to the Negro colleges and universities.

1. Let it be conceded that a backward and suppressed race must of necessity be afflicted with great intellectual poverty. Such a race can, at best, produce only a small number of youth who, with their present incumbrances, are likely to profit by the advanced courses of learning. The mass of any people must ever fall short of the collegiate grade. At present, the Negro shows only one student in three thousand of the population who, by the widest stretch of courtesy, can be said to be pursuing the higher education. After abstracting all who are able to think, there will be left sufficient to toil.

2. The courses of study should be thorough and the instruction competent. Nothing is so dangerous to a backward race as a smattering of learning. The people need sane, safe, cautious conservative standards. They are already too prone to superficiality and show.

3. The Northern college is not likely to inspire colored youth with the enthusiasm and fixed purpose for the work which destiny has assigned them. The white college does not contemplate the needs of the Negro race. American ideals could not be fostered in the white youth of the country by sending them to Oxford or Berlin for their tuition. No more can the

Negro gain racial inspiration from Harvard or Yale; and yet it would be a calamity to cut them off from these great centers of learning. They need the benefit of contact and comparison, as well as the greater facilities which they afford. If the Negro is shut in wholly to himself he becomes too painfully self-conscious; on the other hand, if allowed to stray too far from his race, he finds himself stranded on the barren shores of culture, or, like Mohammed's coffin, suspended in mid air, without upper or nether support. The Negro college in the South and the larger institutions of the North will preserve a just balance between these conflicting principles.

4. Negroes should contribute liberally toward their own higher education. You who have been benefited ought therefore to be enlarged. Thousands of colored people are better able to contribute to such movements than many of the regular contributors in the North. No equilibrium can be stable when the center of gravity falls outside of the basis of support.

5. There are by far too many schools which claim the collegiate function. The number might well be reduced to two or three; perhaps one for each of the leading denominations. The Virginia Union University is to be congratulated for taking the first steps in this direction. Its sphere of influence embraces more than half of the Negro race, and it gives promise of becoming one of the great institutions of America. There is great need of a chain of fitting schools scattered all over the South, which should be content to do thorough secondary work without the ambition to assume full academic prerogative. The work of primary grades, now a large feature of all the Negro universities, should be relegated to the public schools, and their courses should be confined to those lines of instruction which lie beyond, or at least outside of, the scope of public instruction. The work now undertaken could thus be accomplished at a tithe of the present expense and with thrice the efficiency.

The higher educational interests of the race need to be rationally modified and sensibly adapted. But it would be as unwise a policy for philanthropy to abandon the higher education of the Negro as it would be to abolish his industrial training. "This ye ought to have done and not to have left the other undone."

KELLY MILLER.

ITEMS.

CIRCULAR OF INFORMATION.—A consultation and advisory meeting of the leading citizens, together with the members of the National Legislature, was held in the City of Monrovia on the evening of December 5th, A. D. 1900, at which there were present, His Excellency W. D. Coleman, Chief Justice Z. B. Roberts, the Honorables G. W. Gibson, R. H. Jackson, A. B. King, A. Barclay, J. B. Dennis, T. W. Haynes, D. F. Ware, J. D. Summerville, F. O. Thorne, C. T. O. King, Perry Green, E. L. Parker, H. B. Williams, W. T. Hagan, H. J. Moore, Thomas Roberts, A. H. Diehl, A. J. Butler, W. E. Johnson, and Messrs. W. F. Moore, R. H. Hill, A. B. Stubblefield, W. H. Adams, J. A. Railey, W. E. Dennis, William Lucas, W T. Carter, Isaac Moort, E. M. Cummings, P. J. George, G. W. Parker, Jr., J. E. Jones, R. H. Kennedy and others.

Hon. T. W. Howard, chairman of the Whig Party, and Treasurer of the Republic, presided, and D. E. Howard, the secretary of said party, acted as secretary, and was requested by the chairman to state the object of the meeting, which he did in the following few words:

Object—"Owing to the many reports now extant concerning the state of affairs in the Interior, the acts of certain irresponsible and unauthorized persons, particularly one Eli Butler, who has been committing depredations upon the natives without any warrant or authority from any legally constituted power, together with the many conjectures and surmises that are afloat (which need not be mentioned particularly) and as the National Legislature, the representatives of the people, are now in session, it has been thought advisable, upon the advice of others, that a consultation and advisory meeting of the representative citizens should be called with the hope that from the several discussions, advices and opinions, some steps might be taken that will enable our representatives to adopt such wise and discreet measures as will enhance the interest of our common country."

After stating the object of the meeting the Secretary addressed the meeting, and was followed by Hon. A. Barclay, both of whom spoke of the deplorable condition of the Interior, and of the necessity of a change of policy. President Coleman addressed the meeting at length, defending his policy and denying the truthfulness of the many reports now extant.

Hon. G. W. Gibson then spoke, reading that part of the Constitution (Sec. 5) referring to the right of the citizens to assemble at all

times for the purpose of consulting upon the common good, to instruct their representatives, etc., and suggested that everything should be done in such an orderly manner as that some steps would be taken to accomplish the desired object; his remarks taken together had a very salutory effect on putting a check to the criminating and recriminating remarks made by Secretary Barclay and President Coleman. Chief Justice Roberts then spoke at length, pointing out the fact that to his mind these Interior difficulties had been growing worse from year to year, and that the policy pursued had, in his opinion, proved ineffectual, and should be abandoned at once; and suggested the appointment of an independent commission to be composed of two citizens from each of the leeward counties, and four from Montserrado County, to have full powers to treat with the native chiefs concerned in the present upheavals in the Interior, with a competent military escort under a recognized military commander, to settle the said difficulties, which suggestion was heartily indorsed by Secretary Barclay.

The meeting was then addressed by Hon. C. T. O. King, who said among others that he regretted very much the presence of the President, as he was not expected to be present during these discussions, etc. Atty.-Gen. T. W. Haynes, Hons. R. H. Jackson, D. F. Ware, H. J. Moore, E. L. Parker, W. F. Moore and William Adams of Royesvill, made very lengthy remarks, each and all of whom spoke of the deplorable condition of the state of the Interior, condemning the policy and advising that PROMPT and DECISIVE steps be taken to relieve the present state of affairs. The following resolutions were offered by D. E. Howard and unanimously adopted by the meeting, and Messrs. A. Barclay, T. W. Haynes and D. E. Howard appointed a committee to forward copies of the same to the President, the Senate and House of Representatives.

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the several counties of this Republic, in town meeting assembled, according to the provisions of the Constitution, do *denounce* the Interior policy pursued by the present Administration.

Resolved, That we advise the continuance of the garrison at Suehn under a proper military officer.

Resolved, That Eli Butler, T. J. Bracewell, Burges Peal, John Mills, and all others who are now in command of the so-called Allies, be immediately recalled by the President.

Resolved, That an Independent Commission of two citizens from each of the leeward counties, and four from Monsterrado County, be appointed to have full powers to treat with the native chiefs concerned in the present upheavals, with a competent military escort under a recognized military commander to settle the said difficulties.

PRESIDENT COLEMAN'S RESIGNATION AND SECRETARY GIBSON'S INAUGURAL.—The Interior Policy of President Coleman being so severely criticised and denounced by the leading citizens of this Republic and prominent members of the Legislature, at a public meeting held in this city on the night of the 5th inst., the full proceedings of which appear in another column of these impressions, His Excellency found it necessary to tender his resignation as Chief Magistrate of this nation, to the National Legislature assembled in Joint Convention, on Friday last, the 8th inst., at 10 o'clock a. m., to take effect "AT ONCE," which resignation being accepted by the Legislature was ordered to go into force on Tuesday, the 11th inst., at 4 o'clock p. m., after the delivery of His Excellency's "Annual Message."

On Tuesday afternoon, at 4 o'clock precisely, after the delivery of President Coleman's Annual Message, the Honorable Garretson Warner Gibson, Secretary of State, by operation of the law of succession, in the presence of both Houses of the Legislature assembled in Joint Convention in the House of Representatives, and in the presence of the Foreign Representatives, leading officials of the Government, and a large assembly of citizens and spectators, took the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution for one about to enter upon the duties of the Chief Magistracy of the Republic, which oath was administered in a most solemn and dignified manner by His Honor, the Chief Justice of the Republic, who immediately after the administration of the oath, presented the new President to his fellow citizens, and demanded their hearty support, confidence and co-operation. Ex-President Coleman then extended hearty congratulations to President Gibson and promised him his personal support and co-operation in all measures which he may put forth for the best interest of the state. President Coleman was then followed by Chief Justice Z. B. Roberts, the President of the Senate, Hon. R. H. Jackson, Associate Justice R. B. Richardson, Doctor E. W. Blyden, L. L. D., Hon. J. D. Summerville, Governor of Grand Bassa County and other most distinguished citizens. After the extending of congratulatory remarks, His Excellency, President Gibson, said: GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

In obedience to your call, and according to the law governing the case, I have appeared before you and have taken the oath prescribed by the Constitution for one about to enter upon the duties of the Chief Magistracy of the Republic.

The resignation of President Coleman and the death of the late Vice President Ross renders it necessary for the Secretary of State to discharge the functions of the Presidency until the vacancy be filled by a new election.

The position so suddenly and unexpectedly forced upon me establishes official relations between us quite different from those

which existed for the protracted period during which I have been in the service of the government in another capacity. I trust, however that the same harmony and good understanding which have marked our intercourse hertofore will continue during the short period I may occupy this post.

I make no address on this occasion, gentlemen. The circumstances in the case do not require it. Nor is it necessary that I take up your precious time in marking out the line of policy that I may hope, with your co-operation, to carry out. This is pretty fairly set forth in the platform of the party in power. I may say, however, that The *Government* of *the people* by *the people*, *the Economical Administration* of the *public* Revenues, a Sound Financial policy, Compulsory Education, and the impartial administration of justice to all classes of the population, as well as to foreign residents within the State whether for business or for pleasure, may be regarded as the leading features of my administration.

When I shall have had time to peruse the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of War and the Navy, as well as that of the General Superintendent of Public Instruction and Common School, copies of which will be laid before you, I hope to be able to make some recommendations and suggestions that may be of service to the country.

There is not the slightest doubt upon my mind, gentlemen, that this Republic has reached a very important point in her history. A point at which sound wisdom dictates that we pause, and carefully review the past, as well as prepare ourselves to grapple with new and thrilling issues that are rapidly pressing towards us; issues that we cannot escape, but which must be met in a masterful and courageous spirit, if we are to hold our position in the great community of nations.

Let us then, gentlemen, arouse to a sense of the grave responsibilities resting upon us as a nation, and humbly looking for the guidance of the great Ruler of the Universe, enter upon the work of the present session with Patriotism, Fidelity and Zeal."

His Excellency then took leave of the Legislature, and in company with the Foreign Representatives, officials of Government, and citizens of all classes, under military escort, proceeded to the Executive Mansion, and there partook of light refreshments, after the reading of a very intelligent and interesting paper, by the Honorable D. E. Howard, Governor of Montserrado County, containing expressions of congratulation to the new President from the "True Whig Party" on his entering upon the duties of the Chief Magistracy of the Republic so sudden to himself and unsolicited; but by operation of law, and promises of support and co-operation of the "True Whig Party" that is now and has long been in political ascendency.

To which paper His Excellency replied in most suitable terms.—*The Liberia Record.*

TUSKEGEE ANNUAL NEGRO CONFERENCE—WASHINGTON TALKS TO FARMERS.—The Tuskegee Negro Conference convened at Tuskegee, Ala., at the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Wednesday, February 19. The great chapel was filled. There was not room inside for the people. The Conference was called to order by Principal Washington at 10 a. m., after devotional exercises. Mr. Washington made an address in which he gave the farmers to understand that the school existed for the good of the people. It was their school. When it ceased to be a benefit to the people on the outside, it had no right to exist. He outlined the method of proceedure for the day and of the aim and purpose of these conferences. A committee on declarations was appointed.

At this point the reports of the farmers were taken. The Farmer's Improvement Society of Texas was first heard from. That society owns 50,000 acres of land; killed this year, 2,700 hogs, and owns 2,600 mules. It was the influence of the Tuskegee Conference that led to the organization of this Society.

Mr. S. M. Bunell, of Elmore County, told how he secured a home. "I had a hard struggle. I ate bread and water many a day. Peopie laughed at me. I cooked peas seasoned only with salt, as I had no meat. Sometimes for dinner I had nothing but bread, and I would chew millet stalks to keep the bread from sticking in my throat. I now have 160 acres. Last year I raised 700 pounds of meat. This year I have 450 pounds. I have not much corn. I never had a mortgage in my life. I have about 300 fruit trees."

One said: "I used to rent land and work out for wages; I am 55 years old. First I bought some stock. I bought some land but the title was bad and I lost it. After that I bought 100 acres, and paid for it in cotton. I sold this and bought a plot of ground for $1,600 cash. I built a gin house for $500. I found I could make on cotton from $1,000 to $1,200 a year, so I bought more land. I am now the owner of 600 acres, all paid for. I raise all my meat and live in a house that cost $500." And so the hopeful reports were made. It was touching as well as instructive and helpful to hear these farmers tell how they struggled, suffered and denied themselves in order to get a home. These talks were impressive and inspiring. No doubt many went away with the determination to follow the example of those who had struggled and got homes.

Mr. J. N. Calloway, of the Tuskegee Institute, who has recently returned from Africa where he went with three Tuskegee graduates to introduce cotton raising in the German colony of Togoland on the west coast of Africa, under the auspices of the German Government, spoke to the Conference. He brought the greetings of the mother country to the Conference. He spoke of the needs in Africa of just such work as the Conferences at Tuskegee aim to do. In that country teachers are needed, and he expressed the hope that many

young men and women would go from Tuskegee and other schools to Africa as teachers.

When Mr. Calloway had finished his address a gentleman arose in the audience, and held high over head an African battle-ax, and said it was brought to this country by a returned missionary from the Congo country in the heart of Africa. This gentleman was Rev. D. Clay Lilly, secretary of the Colored Evangelization of the Presbyterian Church. He presented the battle-ax to Mr. Washington with the wish that it might be turned into an emblem of peace and civilization. The following are the declarations of the Conference:

I. In connection with educational, moral and religious training, we recognize that the foundation and growth of the race are to be found in the ownership and proper cultivation of the soil; free from mortgaging land, crops or stock; raising food supplies at home; keeping out of the large cities, North and South; prompt and willing payment of all taxes; keeping out of courts; avoiding all forms of extravagance; keeping our young people off the streets, from public lounging places; starting a banking account, however small; holding Farmers' Institutes or local Conferences and Agricultural Fairs.

II. We must keep constantly in mind that the masses of our people depend for their eduaction upon the public schools. These should be strengthened at every point especially lengthening the terms; securing better teachers; building school houses and supplying them with proper outfits.

III. We must overlook the fact that we depend largely for our living upon the common occupations about our doors, domestic, mechanical and agricultural. Since at present, especially in the South these occupations are open to us, we should give careful attention to the fitting of our youth for these callings, and constantly remind them that there is no disgrace in any form of manual labor, but rather in poor work and all forms of idleness.

IV. We would advise the teaching of Agriculture in the public schools, and through the children would impress upon the parents the value of the dairy, vegetable farm and poultry yard to every family.

V. We recognize the great work to be done for the schools, the churches, and public improvements, especially in the upbuilding and maintenance of good public roads. In the promotion of this and every needed good we pledge our most hearty co-operation with our white friends, North and South.

VI. We believe our progress in all the essentials of life all things considered, is most enouraging, and that our motto should be "Ever Onward."

There were present representatives from twenty-three States and the District of Columbia: Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, North Carolina, Georgia, West Virginia, Maryland, Indiana, Illinois,

Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Wisconsin, Texas, Michigan, Tennessee, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Wisconsin and South Carolina.

There were more than two thousand farmers present. A few earnest words were spoken by Bishop Alstork, of Montgomery, after which the doxology was sung, and the benediction was pronounced by Rev. Dr. J. E. Bowen of Atlanta, and the Eleventh Annual Negro Conference had ended.—*The Freeman.*

The President of the United States and the Color Question.—President Roosevelt entertained at dinner at the White House last week Mr Booker T. Washington, a Negro who has done more to better Mr. Booker T. Washington, a Negro who has done more to better the conditions of his race than any other living man. He is the head of the splendid educational institution for Negroes at Tuskegee, Alabama, founded by himself, and was recently entertained by well-known people at Newport. President Roosevelt's action has caused the fiercest denunciation throughout the South. Even Congressmen declare that he has lost every chance of winning the sympathy of that section. A Louisiana Congressman says: "The South can never take to its heart a man who has had a colored man at his table with him." As for the language used by the Southern press, the following comment from the *Memphis Scimitar* is an example: "The most damnable outrage which has ever been perpetrated by any citizen of the United States was committed yesterday by the President when he invited a nigger to dine with him at the White House. It would not be worth more than a passing notice if Theodore Roosevelt had sat down to dinner in his own home with a Pullman palace car porter, but Roosevelt the individual and Roosevelt the President are not to be viewed in the same light." The *Memphis Commercial Appeal* says: "President Roosevelt has committed a blunder worse than a crime. No atonement or future act can remove this self-imprinted stigma." In the opinion of Northern papers it is not Roosevelt's action which is contemptible, but the attacks on him for honoring a man who, as the *New York Times* says, judged by his character and the standards of public duty and by his achievements, considering the conditions under which he has worked, his ancestry, education and opportunity is the most distinguished Southerner of our time."

Bishop Porter, in Chicago, on Sunday, denounced the attacks on Mr. Roosevelt for entertaining Mr. Booker T. Washington at dinner. He said: "Inasmuch as I entertained Mr. Washington at my table last winter and know that no more courteous man exists, I naturally feel that there is no reason in the country."

Two Kaffirs attended at White House on Monday for the purpose of seeing the President. They have come to the United States in

charge of boys who have been sent for educational purposes under missionary auspices. These Kaffirs expressed decided views in favor of British supremacy in South Africa, describing Boer rule as cruel and oppressive.

One result of the Southern denunciations of President Roosevelt for entertaining Mr. Booker T. Washington at dinner is that the latter has received more invitations to dine with prominent persons than he is able to accept. On Wednesday he dined with Mr. Tyler, treasurer of Yale, and Mr. Bissell, formerly Postmaster General, a Democrat, accepted an invitation to be present, and asked that the fact might be announced publicly.

While Mr. Roosevelt has raised a hornet's nest by entertaining Mr. Washington, Mrs. Roosevelt has caused wide discussion by stating that she can dress well on £60 a year. The dressmakers of New York and Chicago declare that the statement is ridiculous, and say that many customers spend £200 on a single dress and buy a number of such dresses in a year.—*London Times.*

Knighthood Recognized.—Sir Alfred Lewis Jones, K. C. M. G., was born a Knight. The act of His Majesty's Government on the 9th instant was only a declaration of the fact. Sir Alfred holds and has held his commission from Nature. She long since gave the *imprimatur*. There are names to which no prefix or affix can add weight. The word Sir placed before such names as William Wilberforce, William E. Gladstone, John Bright, John Morley, Frederic Harrison, or Joseph Chamberlain, would neither give them additional importance nor enhance their personal influence.

But it must be gratifying to Sir Alfred, and to his friends to have Nature's act ratified by so eminent a human tribunal—to have his name enrolled among those whom the good and great and wise of this world pronounce worthy of honor. As the national expression of endorsement of his great work all his friends and Mr. Jones himself highly appreciate the new decoration.

We know, however, enough of the new knight to know that the goal at which he has always aimed, and now aims, is something higher than this. His aim is to be King—King in the realm of human beneficence, to reign in the hearts of men, without regard to race, color or creed. And he has gone far towards achieving this magnificent result. Not only from West Africa, but from the isles of the sea, from the frozen regions of Canada, from the continent of Europe, from many an obscure and unknown precinct, there are hearts and minds who turn to him with gratitude for assistance and inspiration.

But all great men are not officially recognized Knights, nor are all appointed Knights great men. Some of England's greatest men

were never knighted, and many who have been knighted were never great men. So true are the words of Burns:

"For a' that, and a' that,
Our toils obscure and a' that,
The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the goud for a' that.

A prince can mak a belted Knight,
A marquis, duke, and a' that;
But an honest man's aboon his might,
Guid faith he maunna fa' that.

For a' that, and a' that,
Their dignities and a' that,
The pith o' sense, and pride o' worth,
Are higher ranks than a' that."

And the English poet endorses the sentiment of the Scottish bard:

"Kind hearts are more than coronets."

Sir Alfred Jones is proud of being regarded as the successor of McGregor Laird, the founder of the Liverpool West African Trade and of the African Steamship Company; in spirit, in method, in faith, in boldness, in adventure he is McGregor Laird developed. Like his great predecessor and model he always proceeds with anything he undertakes not in the spirit of mere experiment but in the spirit of enterprise. One important reason why he is such a power is, that he blends the theorist with the practical worker. He agitates and executes; and very often, as he has himself told us, he first executes and then agitates.

Sir Alfred has made money and has used money. He is making money and is using money; and one is the result of the other. Reciprocally related, they act upon each other. The rivers that give their waters to the ocean receive them back in refreshing showers. And not only are they replenished, but the countries through which they run are refreshed. So the multifarious activities of Mr. Jones supply their own sinews of war. The African says that "the white man is a great spider," from the unending resourcefulness with which he weaves his enterprises, and the unfailing energy with which he recovers disasters. Mr. Jones is an illustration of this simile. All West Africa cordially congratulates our new knight. May his life be long spared to enjoy the official honor, and by greater and more widespread service to deserve more and more of his fellow subjects and fellow men everywhere.—*Sierre Leone Weekly News*

THE ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF SCHOOL WORK AT LAGOS.—The annual Exhibition of School Work was opened this morning by His Excellency the Governor at the Glover Memorial Hall. There was an exceptionally large attendance of visitors, the accommodation being insufficient to the demand. This must be taken as implying increased interest on the part of the public.

A guard of honor of Hausa soldiers was stationed in front of the hall, and at 9 o'clock His Excellency the Governor arrived accompanied by his aide-de-camp. His Excellency, with the members of the committee, of which His Honor the Chief Justice is chairman, occupied seats on the dais.

His Honor the Chief Justice, in formally presenting the Exhibition, gave a brief account of the arrangements governing the present show and the results of the work as denoted in the competitive exhibits. A feature of the present exhibition was that it was opened to all the schools of the Colony and provinces, and was not as hitherto confined to Government assisted schools. The result was a marked increase in the number of competitors, while the subjects competed in had been increased from fifteen last year to nineteen. Eight schools of Abeokuta took part in the competition, and from which there were some successful competitors. The quality of the work was on the whole good and up to the usual standard, except in the case of bookkeeping and wood carving, the genuine idea of the latter not being applied in the exhibits presented.

His Excellency the Governor, in opening the Exhibition, prefaced the ceremony with a very instructive and suggestive speech on the subject of education, in which he pointed out that education had assumed the position in the present age of the world, of a most powerful instrument of warfare and great political instrument. His Excellency illustrated this fact by a reference to the educational competition going on between the different nations of Europe, and avowed that the future of the world would be determined by the schoolmaster. His Excellency made a lengthy reference to the principles and methods of Professor Booker T. Washington, the great Negro educationist of America, and pointed out that it was the kind of education promoted by Mr. Washington that was needed in this country. After further and most pertinent observations His Excellency brought his remarks to a close, and after having distributed the prizes to the successful competitors formally declared the Exhibition open.— *The Lagos Weekly Record.*

OPEN DOOR SOMEWHERE.—Before telling you where that door is I will make a statement that I deem incontrovertible beyond reason, and agreeing with my personal experience of above thirty years, reasonable and self-evident. It is this: In the ordinary avenues

of trade no man, black or white, has ever had anything to sell that its sale did not depend upon its price and quality rather than upon the color or station of the seller.

If that proposition is true, then it is also true that the mercantile and trading field is wide open to us all, and I shall show you, or at least hope to do so, that that door is wide open to us, in fact, never has been closed, although completely neglected by our people; possibly through some race characteristic or acquired habit.

If you will station yourself at the Battery, in the City of New York, upon any day of the week that is devoted to business, and look seaward, you will note a constant stream of immigrants from all quarters of the earth, stopping only long enough on Ellis Island to give a good account of themselves. England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales are therein very largely represented. Germany, Austria, Russia, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweeden, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Hungary, Roumania, Persia, Egypt, Morocco, India, China, Japan, all South America, Mexico, Central America, the Islands of the Carribean Sea, and those too numerous to mention in the South Pacific Ocean. All quarters of the earth are represented in the brief space of time that you are look seaward over the bay. All leaving their homes, where life has been unbearable. Many have crossed thousands of miles by land and other thousands by water, over lofty and rugged peaks, scaling high mountains; on the edge of steep cliffs, across sandy deserts, and packed in the bowels of great ships for days and months; every possible hardship borne that each might at last reach the fair haven of rest, peace and prosperity.

Without shifting your position, turn your eyes westward and note the constant line of boats ferrying across the river that other stream of human souls, wearing a skin of darker hue. These have come up from a sunnier and more welcome clime, to combat the rigors of our Northern winters, solely that they might experience the real feelings of equality and manhood. This stream of darker hue is neither poorer nor better clothed than the first, with a capital at its command fully as great as the first has also. I assure you that there is a door open equally wide to both, that leads to wealth and prosperity, and I shall show you what each reader may have seen, but unconsciously, that those people from abroad promptly enter it, while our own people pass it by, and I will assert, in addition, that until we make free use of that door and the road it leads to, we will never reach the common platform of mankind in America.

What becomes of that crowd that we saw on Ellis Island? I'll tell you. The very next week, possibly, you will meet the Italian at the Brooklyn bridge entrance, or upon one of the side streets, with a well-laden push cart, filled with fruit or merchandise, or, pos-

sibly, at some corner, or in one of the thousands of basements or little 4x10 rooms that are to be found the city over, selling either fruit or merchandise. Go to the seaside resort, and you will see him carrying a basket along the beach filled with fruit or candies, pop corn, hot corn, pails for children to carry sand in, toy balloons and trinkets, soda water and the thousand things sold by the merchant who begins at the beginning, the very A B C of trade. Another year will find him advanced in his line; he will be found keeping a little store, with wife and family in the rear rooms, all as helpers. He may be the owner of the carrousel that you ride on and waste your nickles upon. He possibly keeps the restaurant and ice cream saloon where you are refreshed; he is always the seller, and you the buyer, from the penny glass of lemonade or ice cream through the whole long length upward to opulence and power, and finally he becomes your landlord. You know that this is nothing but an every-day picture, that every observer can testify to the truth of.

Now, what has become of our colored brother whom we saw cross the ferry on that self-same day? Well, having a nickle to spare on reaching the city, he exchanged it with the Italian at the first or second corner for fruit, he who has exposed these tempting fruits knowing full well that our brother would soon come along and pay his five cents for what has possibly cost him but 1 or 2. It never dawned upon the mind of our colored brother to go and buy a basket of that fruit at wholesale and peddle it at the ferry entrance himself; no, not he. He pushed his way uptown, looking for a friend who has kindly secured him a place at service long before he ventured to leave home. If I meet him again, however, it would be almost impossible to recognize him in the new suit of livery or regimental advertising clothes that he wears; or, possibly, as a waiter, hall boy, or elevator boy in one of the hotels. If it should happen that our colored friend who crossed in that stream of souls, of which we have spoken, is a graduate of a university, or school of highest learning, the man will surely never be found among the small traders. He will look first for employment suitable to his learning, failing in that he will look for a good janitorship, failing in that he is willing "just for a short time, you know," and accepts a place in the Pullman service, or in one of the large hotels, preferably a summer resort; failing in that, he will run an elevator, become a private waiter, hall boy or any possible job that will furnish a full stomach, tan shoes, Alpine hat, the newest cut in clothes, with immense polished shirt front and collar. He will show his love of liberty and go and do as he likes by going and doing as he likes, casting his nickles about freely upon the just and unjust. On Sunday, should you walk up Fifth Avenue and only see the backs of two men, you wouldn't know which one is young Vanderbilt. Will

this specimen of humanity ever stoop to sell shoe strings, buttons, soaps, apples, pears, peanuts, candy or soda water? Will this gentleman ever keep a 4x10 ft. fruit store, or newstand, or buy an old horse and wagon and peddle fruit, vegetables, oysters or clams? Will he take a stand in the market place? No; never! He is a buyer, a consumer, he produces nothing, and you may make up your mind to it that the world will look upon him with scorn until he has mended his ways. You may multiply the title gentry, the professionals, by the thousands, but you will never greatly affect the question of liberty and equality until you increase and multiply your merchants and small traders by many degrees. There is no bar to the door; every man is free to buy and sell, for upon that plane is perfect equality. No man who can place his order, he it ever so small, for merchandise, and pay his bills, is disrespected. A thousand Negroes buying and selling small wares in this vicinity will have a greater lifting force than the combined titles of the States.

If this be true, then, the educational line that we should follow is the manual training, and trades and commerce schools. It is a question as to whether or not the more than two centuries of bondage have not unfitted us for this very necessary condition by, in a measure, destroying the quality of self-reliance; ready and willing always and under all circumstances to accept monthly stipends rather than risk a penny in contact with the world.

Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, China, Japan, the Indies, are all interesting to the American, simply because they have something to sell, and because they buy; and we shall be equally as interesting when we have adopted the right means.

Education in its relation to our future then shall have been properly adjusted, when regulated or governed by those principles of economy without which success must be long deferred. Principles of economy are as applicable to this question as to any other question of state. It is thought, however, that such questions settle themselves in the ordinary course of supply and demand. To a large extent this is true, but our o'er-weening desire to render conspicuous every family, and the conviction that by so doing we are raising the race to a more prosperous plane, has closed the eyes of the people to the truth, and they persist in efforts which finally bring ruin financially, to many families. What if there be fifty lawyers among us without clients, or fifty doctors without patients, or fifty teachers without positions, grammer schools over-supplied, music teachers on every block, orators sufficient to fill the whole government service with political aspirants, we nevertheless go on and on, crowding on more in the vain belief that our child will prove an exception to the rule. Barbers, janitors, caterers, waiters, successful in business, but underrating the dignity of their calling, finally dissipate their wealth in an endeavor to carry their children to what

they regard as a more exalted place in life, but I'll tell our readers that the world will ever prefer a rich janitor to a poor professional gentleman.

Education, scholastic, is necessary for all, without it life is uphill work, danger is multiplied. The common school affords sufficient for the ten thousand, and too much for any whose pride is so increased that he cannot become a small trader or merchant, living within his means. The state is not safe without a general diffusion of knowledge. So necessary, indeed, is it that none of us cavil at any proposition to restrict the right of suffrage to those who can read and write and who hold property. We only cavil at the proposition to apply the rule to one class and color of citizens. The school house insures the life of the Republic. Education starts the wheels of progress in motion; it stimulates pride, begets competition; it is the very centre of motion that finally builds up the state. This is the lesson the South has yet to learn. When she has learned it there will never come another proposition to close a school house, or to confine school privileges to those who are direct taxpayers. As we have said, a Negro upon a plantation, without the education of the schools, has few more wants than the mule he drives; he needs neither hat, shoes nor clothes, and so with his children. Educate them, however, and as in Peter Johnson's case, polished shoes becomes a necessity, cotton or silk stockings, under clothing, polished shirt front and collar, the latest cut in clothing, cane, umbrella, and the latest style in hats, a gold ring, a breast pin and cuff-buttons, and a watch to tell the time, become necessary to his happiness.

The same with his sisters and brothers. The old hut of a house gives way to a neat one-story clapboard house, with windows set with glass, furnished with articles from the store, carpet even, in time, bedstead, chairs, table, table cloth, dishes pictures, lamps, crockery, books—all these become necessary to the educated man and woman, and to none other; hence education, the school house, it at the base of all commercial prosperity, the only branch of the city government that gives immediate results.

What has made this prosperous North? Its school houses? What keeps the South behind in all things? The want of them. If she closes the Negro schools she will buy less collars, cuffs, shoes, hats, clothing, furniture, crockery, carpet. She will manufacture less lumber, less nails, less of all things that go to make a country progressive and prosperous. She has fed so long upon hatred, that it has distorted her vision; she has at her doors a mine of wealth, a people docile, trusting, easily led, thoroughly American, wanting all that an American citizen wants for personal comfort, lacking only that common school education that stimultes pride, which increases industry, and the South sees it not. She is blind, but let us hope

that this present gathered and deeper darkness is but that darkest hour which it is said always precedes the dawn.—S. R. Scottron in *The New York Age.*

THE PROSPECTS AND CONDITION OF THE FEMALE PORTION OF THE COMMUNITY.—The eternal female question is one of the problems which are today puzzling and perplexing the minds of political, economical and other leaders of public thoughts in all civilized and progressive lands, but much more so in such a country as ours where the condition, habits and practice of the people are so different from what obtain in other parts. The question, viewed from various standpoints, is as important as it is urgent; it recurs to the mind from day to day, it requires a solution that will in a measure shed some light on the lurid atmosphere which at present darkens and obscures the situation, and it demands the immediate consideration of all those who are in authority—governmental, commercial, and eduational. We propose, therefore, to attempt in a series of articles on the subject, to deal with the female question from various points of view.

Taking first the intellectual equipment of our girls it may at once be stated that so far as the mental faculties are concerned, they have proved themselves in several ways to be the equals, if not the superior of the boys. They have shown in their studies and in their results of school examinations, whether in elementary, or in the higher seminaries for ladies an aptitude and proficiency which is very creditable not only to their governesses and instructors, but also to the brain powers and ability of the taught. In the Annual Proficiency Examinations for the boys and girls in the higher schools of the Colony, the young ladies have often proved themselves by the results the superior of their brother competitors, and if we were so minded, we can mention the names of ladies who obtained a higher class of pass than the boys who sat to the same examination, thereby recalling the achievements of the well-known name of Miss Fawcett, daughter of the late Professor Fawcett, of England, who obtained a higher mark than the Senior Wrangler in the Cambridge examination of a past year. Nor are we, in a smaller degree it may be, in West Africa without such gratifying example of female intellectual ability, for in the Government Examination for School Teachers' Certificate in the Colony of Lagos for the year 1893, Miss Henrietta Robbin (now Mrs. Henry Carr) distanced most of the male competitors and obtained at a leap a second-class teachers certificate.

It is not only in the domains of intellectual and mental excellence that the girls of the Colony have shown themselves susceptible to improvement. They are adepts while at school in the production of fancy works and other things necessary to make the home beautiful.

In the Roman Catholic Convent School for Girls, more so than in any other schools of equal standing in the Colony, great pains are taken to give to those under instruction every variety of education that will help to develop them into useful and industrious women. The exhibits in the annual gatherings of the Convent School, show the quality of work that are done from time to time.

There can be no question, therefore, as to the mental and intellectual equipment of our girls. It is true the system of education, both for girls as well as boys, is not all that is desirable, but so far as things are at present, there is sufficient effort made and gratifying results produced in the education of the girls.

But after all has been said and commended the perplexing inquiry stares us in the face, and that is, why is it that after school-days are over, the mental brilliance that surrounded and covered the young ladies disappear altogether, and leave them intellectually destitute and naked as their mother Eve was in the garden of Eden? How comes it to pass that a few years after leaving school the generality of them show no trace of the ability and efficiency of their earlier years? Most of them evince no partiality for books after they have bidden farewell to the schoolroom; that neatness and tidiness which is perceptible in the appearance of the inmates of a ladies seminary disappear altogether, sometimes never to return again. Slovenliness becomes the characteristics of the once smart and pleasant looking maidens.

We are bound to confess that there are no encouraging openings for the intellectual advancement and improvements of our young ladies after their round of school life is over. They cannot be lady novelists but they can be reporters to the newspapers; they can continue to improve themselves by being careful and pains taking letter-writers and correspondents; they can take good care of their "p's and q's;" they can make a practical use of their knowledge of the English grammar to attempt to speak decent English; they can continue as they have done at school to dress tidily and to be neat in their appearance, they can make the home beautiful by the cultivation of the habits of cleanliness and orderliness. They can always put on a cheerful appearance and so make their surroundings happy.

This can be done by all. It requires no fortunate or prosperous circumstance to improve the intellect or the appearance. Habits of cleanliness and orderliness can be practiced by high as well as low, if the standard of excellence obtained at schools is to be kept up and improved upon throughout life, and if the ladies of the present will be an example to those who are coming after.—*Sierre Leone Weekly News.*

Bishop H. M. Turner's Comment on an Editorial in "The Freeman."—Editor of "The Freeman": I have just read under "The

Future of the Negro," in your issue of the 29th ult., the following: "It is beginning to dawn on the Negroes generally, that if they will be saved, they must save themselves."

This is just what I have been advocating all these years, by what has been styled: "My African Emigration" foolishness. In common parlance, you have hit the nail square upon the head, I knew you and all other opponents would see the point after a while and come to it. If the Negro is saved, he will have to save himself. Party will not save him, nor will any other agency beyond his own endeavor and merits. This white, or "buckra" race as the African say, must either be conquered by physical force or they must be deserted. Dogs have sense enough to run when they see they cannot contend and give battle to their antagonist. And it did look to me, and it looks that way yet, that if we are not able to battle with the men that are depriving us of our civil and political rights and all that life is worth, we should have as much sense as dumb animals that run. You will say "the white man gives no quarter or takes any; nothing but sheer force, absorption, extinction, annihilation or what not in commercial, industrial competitive sense. White barbers, white waiters, and white coachmen are no longer curios, they are persistent in their efforts to establish themselves, having no regard for peculiar races with peculiar occupations." I repeat, as one who has studied the situation before four-fifths of the present generation were born, and went through bloody battles for their liberation, that I see no salvation for the Negro unless he wakes up and starts to do something. Sitting placidly down and making no effort will never remedy our forlorn and desperate condition.

God will not help a people unless they try to help themselves, and as for the white man he regards its cowardice or incapacity. Our condition will never be improved or remedied until we do something to vindicate our self-reliance, if we are not void of it. To attempt to give the white man battle in any manner, shape or form would not only be folly but madness. It is estimated that there are nine white men to one black man, and he has all the guns, all the powder, all the deadly missels, in short, all the weapons that would be necessary to give him battle or demand justice at his hand by physical force, and as for moral force, out of ninety-odd thousand white ministers, not more than one-half dozen would open their mouths if five hundred black men were shot, burned, hung or jibbited at one time. The white preachers are not only under control of the mobs, but hundreds are willing to form a part of the mobs themselves. There is no moral force, for the very Bible, the word of the eternal God, is made to sustain this violent and ruthless condition of things about which we so frequently complain. Thus I see no remedy outside of African emigration, and it is the only remedy for our ills that has ever been proposed. The opponents of the measure

propose nothing, not one thing. You say that Booker T. Washington is on the right line. Well, grant it, but what is Booker T. Washington in the midst of ten or twelve millions. Such talk is the jargon of nonsense. I read somewhere from a member of our race that all the ships in the world could not carry our people back to Africa in one hundred years. Bishop Derrick, a man whom I admire, says that all the ships in the United States could not transort them back to Africa in a billion of years. Yet there are only twelve million in the United States according to the highest calculations. A million of whites, yes twelve hundred thousand, often come to this country every year, but not less than a million any year, and there is hardly anything said about it, and the ships that bring them could bring almost as many again, as easily as they bring a million a year. Men talk by drawing up on their imagination and advertising their ignorance. One-half of the ships that enter the ports of the United States could carry every man, woman and child belonging to our race to Africa in five years, and they could do it in ten years without any trouble, more than the ordinary voyagers, but we will not discuss this point at large. But emigration is the only remedy; it is the only plan proposed that has any sense to it. Men may object, but they offer nothing in lieu therof, and the very objectors are doing nothing, they hold no mass meetings, United States conventions; they pass no resolutions, denouncing the outrageous and inhuman treatment of the black man. All they have got to propose is opposition to emigration, and by their silence endorse the inhuman condition of things that confronts us as a race. A people who will neither fight nor run, and it is useless to fight, can expect nothing. God offers them nothing, and they will get nothing, but ultimate annihilation. But you say "it is beginning to dawn on the Negroes generally, that if they will be saved, they must save themselves." I hope this is true and shall wait and see.—*The Freeman.*

HOME BUYERS' STRUGGLES—ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE HELD AT TUSKEGEE.—Tuskegee, Feb. 19.—The Annual Negro Conference has just closed, and it was by all odds the most interesting one ever held, both in point of attendance and discussion. There are 2,000 Negro farmers in this county (Macon) alone, and it seems that all of them came and "brought their relations." Neither was the attendance of a local complexion, but on the other hand, it was highly representative. At this conference Massachusetts greeted Kansas, and Michigan saluted Florida. Twenty-three States and the District of Columbia were represented.

Exercises began this morning at 10 o'clock with a ringing address by Principal Washington, in which he reviewed the work of the Conference for the last ten years. He wanted the farmers to feel that

the Conference was for them, and that the continuance of such meetings is justifiable only in the proportion as they serve to stimulate the masses to greater effort for racial uplift. He said in part:

"I want you first of all to feel a hearty welcome, not to our institution, but to your institution, for it belongs to you. As an indication of the progress the race is making in some of the more essential things of life, it is interesting to note that at this, the eleventh annual session of the Tuskegee Negro Conference, we will be able to have discussed almost wholly on the part of those who have actually bought and paid for their homes, and have no mortgage or any incumbrance resting upon them. Ten years ago this would have been an impossible thing. As far as there is time for it, we are going to have those who have paid for their homes tell us in a simple, straightforward manner the struggle they have gone through in securing these homes in order that the lesson may serve to encourage those who are yet without property of their own. Next year, perhaps, we can give more time to those who are intending to buy homes, but this is a practical conference, and the world has not very much time to listen to those who are intending to do something, but is anxious to hear from those who have actually done something.

"It is with a race as with an individual; the place to begin to make improvements is right where it is. Too many of us expect to buy homes, to cease mortgaging crops, to build school houses and prolong the school term, and have better moral and religious atmosphere in our communities next year or at some far off future time. We want to begin to do these things right now. Or do we expect to wait until we move into some other State, or perhaps go North, or go to Africa? But I have noticed that the man who cannot buy a home and save money and educate his children in the South seldom does it anywhere. If we cannot improve our condition here, I do not believe there are many spots on earth where we can do so. The prosperity and usefulness of any race in a large measure depends upon the ownership and proper cultivation of the soil; especially is this true in the early stages of the progress of the race. There is an opportunity open in the South for every black man to purchase a farm and make an independent living upon that farm. Agriculture will give the race the foundation upon which to build and prepare itself for more important things."

After the principal had concluded his address and the committee on declarations was appointed, the meeting was turned over to the farmers. The reports made by them were encouraging in the highest degree and showed what great opportunities the South possesses for the Negroes, and what downright, earnest efforts are being put forth by these "horny handed sons of toil" to grasp these opportunities. For nearly four hours man after man in rapid succession, told how he, since the first Negro Conference ten years ago, has planned, sac-

rificed, sometimes lived on bread and water, to get out of debt—to free himself from the curse of the iniquitous mortgage system—to reach the grand climaeteric of land ownership.

Here are the words of S. M. Bunnell, of Elmore County, Ala., a delegate to the Conference, and they may be taken as representative of the reports made by a score of struggling souls, who have waged unceasing warfare against circumstances which would have crushed men made of weaker stuff. Mr. Bunnell said: "I had many a hard struggle before I got my home. Many a day I ate bread and water, and people laughed at me. I cooked peas, and as I had no meat, I put in a little salt. Sometimes at noon, I had nothing but bread to eat, and I would chew millet stalks to keep the dry bread from sticking in my throat. I have 160 acres. Last year I raised 700 pounds of meat. I have about 300 fruit trees." This was the dominant note struck. The grumbling, pessimistic, despairing soul was conspicuously absent.

Another question much discussed was that of making wills. The average farmer has refrained from executing this document because he thought as soon as he did it his ownership in his property ceased. Good, plain advice on this point was given, and from expressions of many, the advice will not be barren of good fruit. Many cases were cited whereby children failed to reap the benefit of their parents' labor because of the failure of the parents to attend to this important matter. The improvement of the home life, the lengthening of the school term, diversifying of crops, and other matters of pith and moment were discussed. Besides the large number of farmers present there were representatives from nearly every institution in the South devoted to the training of the race. The problem of entertaining this large number is not an easy one, and in connection, the unalloyed unselfishness in giving up their rooms that others might be made comfortable is worthy of special mention.

The committee on declarations made the following report which was unanimously adopted:

(1) In connection with education, moral and religious training, we recognize that the foundation and growth of our race are to be found in the ownership and proper cultivation of the soil, freedom from mortgaging land, stocks or crops. Raising food supplies at home; keeping out of large cities, North and South; prompt and willing payment of all taxes; keeping out of court; avoiding all forms of extravagance; keeping young people off the street, from public lounging places; starting a bank account, however small; holding farmers institutes or local conferences and agricultural fairs.

(2) We must constantly keep in mind that the masses of our people depend on the public schools for their education. These should be strengthened at every point, especially lengthening the terms; securing better teachers; building schoolhouses and supplying them with proper outfits.

(3) We must not overlook the fact that we depend largely for our living upon the common occupations that are about our doors, domestic, mechanical and agricultural. Since, at present, especially in the South, these occupations are open to us, we should give careful attention to fitting our youth for these callings, and constantly remind them that there is no disgrace in manual labor, but rather in poor work and all forms of idleness.

(4) We would advise the teaching of agriculture in the public school, and through the children, would impress upon the parents the value of the dairy, vegetable garden and poultry yard to every family.

(5) We recognize the great work to be done for the schools, the churches and public improvements, especially in the building and maintenance of good public roads. In the promotion of this and every needed good, we pledge our most hearty co-operation with our white friends, North and South.

(6) We believe our progress, in all the essentials of life, all things considered, is most encouraging and our motto should be "Ever Onward."

After the adoption of these declarations the benediction was pronounced by Rev. J. E. W. Bowen, and thus was brought to a close a red letter day in the history of Tuskegee. To-morrow the Workers Conference will be in session, and a most interesting meeting is anticipated, as men high in state, church and other spheres of activity are already on the grounds.—Robert W. Taylor in *New York Age.*

Bishop Tugwell on the African Race.—Bishop Tugwell availed the opportunity on the occasion of the presentation of Bishop Johnson with a public address, to express the view which he holds as regards the position of the African race under the stress of the foreign influence brought to bear upon it. The Bishop said:

"I do not regard the African race as unfortunate. A race is not unfortunate because it has to work out its regeneration. A child is not unfortunate because it has to pass through a process of growth and development. Every race has its history—a history of growth and development. I am not aware that the ancient Briton who besmeared himself with indigo and paddled a dug-out canoe deemed himself unfortunate. Probably he rather enjoyed it. It was a wholesome occupation and he had plenty of fresh air. What God has done for the Briton through Christ He can do for the African through Christ. God honors those who honor themselves. My dear friends, respect yourselves and you are bound to be respected. If the African honors his body as God would have him honor it, if he honors and trains his mind as God intended that he should honor and train it, if he honors his soul as God would

have him honor his soul, then the African would increase in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man. I would say to those present here to-day: Don't deem yourselves as a Race unfortunate but use the gifts God has bestowed upon you and buy up the opportunities He has placed before you. God and man will bestow the highest honor upon those who are found to be in every way most worthy of such honors."

The foregoing are words of thought and wisdom, and are deeply instructive and edifying for the African. The Bishop enjoins upon the African to cultivate self-respect and self-honor by upholding and honoring his own customs and institutions and by utilizing on his own plane the abilities with which he has been endowed to the glory of God and the good of mankind. This Bishop repeats the last advice tendered the African by the late Miss Kingsley, and this coincidence of views is expressive of identity of sentiment and genuine interest in the African, which the latter will not fail to appreciate. But the best way to show such appreciation is by taking the advice to heart and acting upon it. As the Bishop points out, the African must work out his own salvation on his own lines and to the consummation of his own destiny. That destiny does not lie in the arena of aggressive growth or development, but on the humbler yet nobler plane of inoffensive and useful service for the good of mankind. It is not in the sense of availing the opportunities offered to further self-aggrandisement that the African will obtain honor and preferment, but in utilizing his opportunities for promoting the good of others. The history of the world has demonstrated that this is the sure way to ensure duration of existence and lasting honor for a people, and the African, as Bishop Tugwell rightly affirms, cannot be regarded as an unfortunate race in following the course which experience has shown to be the wisest and best. It is not the dazzling splendor of a transient existence which is soon extinguished and forgotten, to which the African aspires, but an enduring existence in which he will continually grow in wisdom, in stature, and in favor with God and man. Bishop Tugwell's sound advice is all the more welcome, coming as it does at a period of much doubt and misgiving, and emanating from a source which hitherto has been chiefly instrumental, in teaching the African to believe that his salvation lies in being metamorphosed into something else. This change of view, which is indicative of a sincere desire to promote the interest and welfare of the African, is a good sign, and implies the removal of a great stumbling-block in the way of such salvation, which, however, the African, as the Bishop says, must work out for himself. Given "plenty of fresh air" and a free mind the African will assuredly work out his own destiny; and his chief care and duty should be to ensure these conditions for himself.—*The Lagos Weekly Record.*